EUGENE CLYDE BROOKS:
EDUCATOR AND PUBLIC SERVANT

BY

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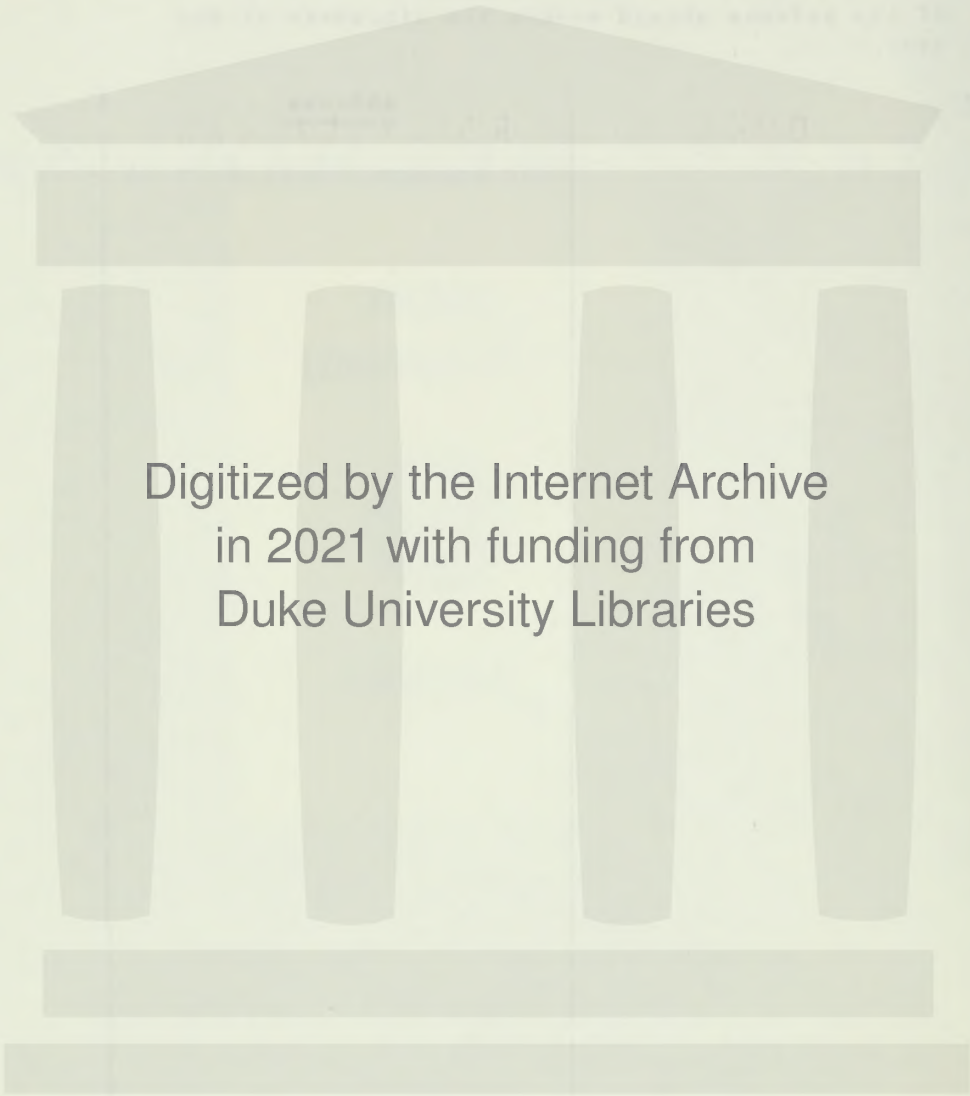

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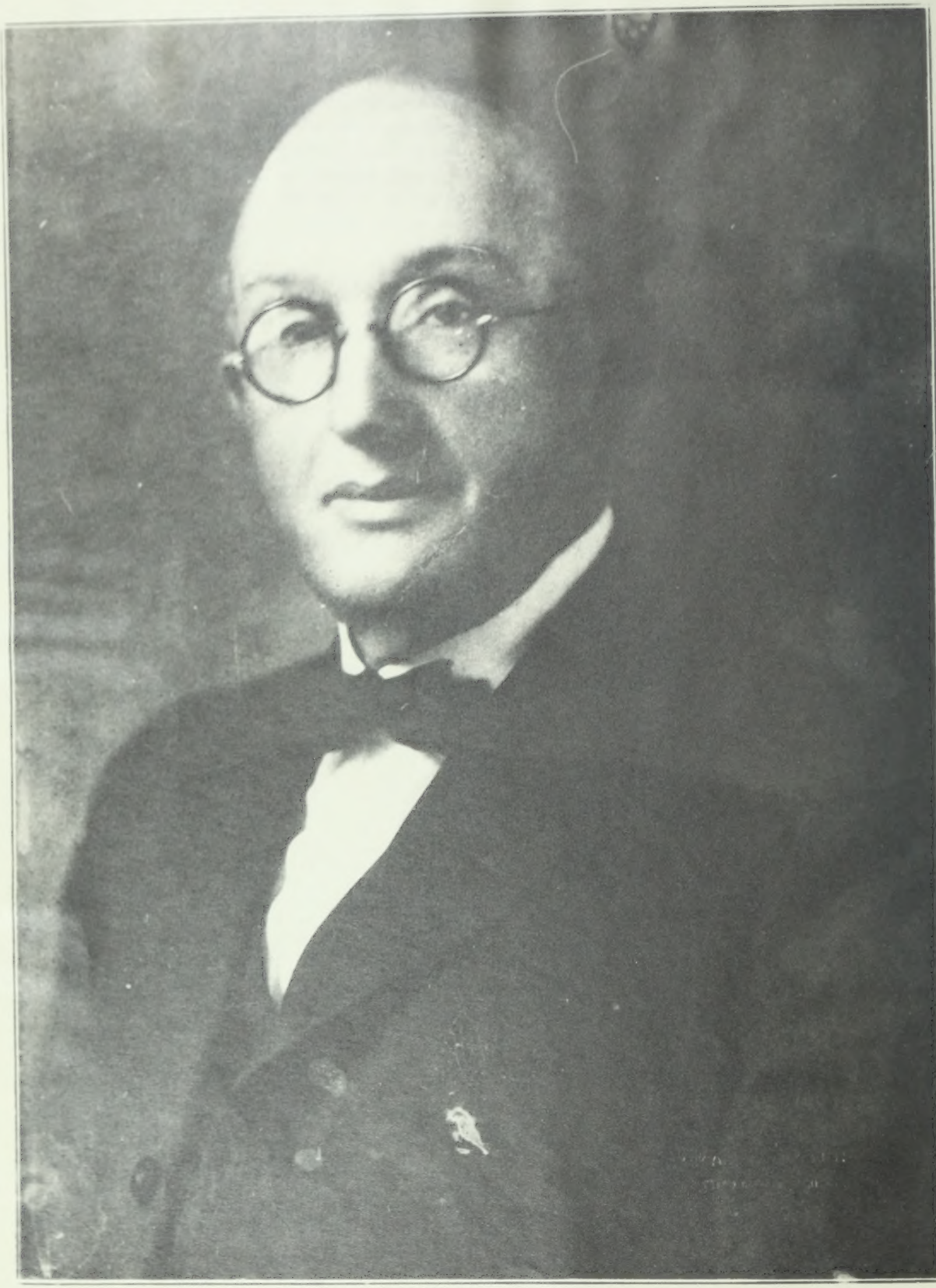

Eugene Clyde Brooks

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by

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Date: April 18, 1957

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PREFACE

For more than three decades Eugene Clyde Brooks occupied a prominent place in the educational life of North Carolina. Between 1898 and 1934 he held almost every position in the educational ladder, and a striking feature of his career was the remarkable success that he achieved in each capacity. At one time or another during this period he was a teacher, principal, superintendent of city schools, clerk in the State Department of Public Instruction, professor of education in Trinity College, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and president of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering. He edited a teachers' magazine for seventeen years, published seven books that won him a reputation as a versatile author, and figured prominently in several educational organizations of national and regional importance. Moreover, he directed the campaign for better schools initiated in 1902 by Governor Charles

B. Aycock which was probably the most extraordinary educational movement in the history of the state. For the next seventeen years Brooks made numerous contributions to education particularly through his efforts to improve teacher qualifications and school standards. As a professor in Trinity College he gave the institution a pre-eminence throughout North Carolina in teacher training. He not only inspired a generation of school men in his regular college classes, but established the first extension course for teachers in service in the state.

In 1919 Brooks became State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and his comprehensive reorganization of public education in North Carolina attracted national attention. The outstanding features of his program included: the establishment of a uniform teacher certification plan and salary schedule; a sweeping change in the method of financing public schools; a remarkable improvement in the quality of the teaching personnel and county school administration; the creation of a $10,000,000 loan fund for the construction of schools; a rapid expansion of facilities for Negro education; and the codification of public school laws.

Brooks left the State Superintendency in 1923 to become president of North Carolina State College where he remained until his permanent retirement in 1934. During his administration the college underwent a spectacular physical transformation and moved from a trade school status to a technological and professional institution of recognized standing. While presi-

dent of the college, Brooks led a movement for reforms in county government that came to fruition in legislative acts passed in 1927 and 1931. His efforts were in large measure responsible for a veritable revolution in the administration of county fiscal affairs. At the same time he served as secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission and played a key role in the establishment of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park, one of the major projects in conservation and recreation in the United States.

Brooks' personal qualities were largely responsible for his success and advancement. He was a forceful, vigorous individual with an abundant physical energy, a perceptive mind, and a rare sense of humor. His unusual oratorical and forensic abilities proved to be decisive factors in more than a few of the hard-fought contests of his career. Above all, Brooks possessed "many talents in human relations." In fact, one of his most valuable assets was a thorough understanding of men and their psychology--an understanding that he utilized to great advantage on numerous occasions, especially in dealing with the legislature. Tact, diplomacy, and persuasive eloquence coupled with a rather fierce tenacity of purpose generally characterized his procedure for overcoming opposition.

In addition to his personal merits, Brooks was assisted in his career by several influential individuals and unusual circumstances. His close friendship with State Superintendent James Y. Joyner was a significant factor in his rise to prominence

and was at least partially responsible for his appointment as Joyner's successor. Moreover, on several important occasions Brooks moved into new positions that offered him extraordinary opportunities to demonstrate his abilities and to make significant contributions. For example, he was the first superintendent of the Monroe Graded Schools, the first director of Aycock's educational campaign, and the first professor of education in Trinity College. He became State Superintendent at a time when the educational movement of the past two decades--a movement in which he had played an important part--came to fruition. He assumed the presidency of North Carolina State College largely for the purpose of executing a reorganization program that had already been outlined and approved by the trustees. The fact that he came into these positions under such circumstances neither removed the difficulty of his tasks nor detracted from the significance of his achievements.

In short, Brooks was one of the decisive figures in the educational advancement in North Carolina during a period that was probably the most significant in the educational history of the state. He was especially influential in the development of a reputable system of public schools and in the elevation of one of the most important state-supported institutions of higher learning. He also made notable contributions to the state other than those in education, particularly in the improvement of county government administration. In several instances his influence extended far beyond the boundaries of North Carolina,

notably through his widely circulated publications and his work in educational organizations and in such projects as the Great Smoky Mountain National Park.

A host of individuals have contributed valuable materials, information, and suggestions for this biography. My first debt is to my parents whose keen interest in my work has been a source of constant encouragement. The Brooks family, especially Mrs. E. C. Brooks and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., were always willing to assist me in every possible way. My gratitude for their invaluable aid and cordial cooperation can scarcely be conveyed by a simple acknowledgement. Above all, it has been my privilege to receive the generous and wise advice of Professor Richard L. Watson, Jr. throughout the preparation of this biography.

W. B. G.

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EUGENE CLYDE BROOKS: EDUCATOR AND PUBLIC SERVANT

Chapter I

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

1871-1894

I

In the first decade of the eighteenth century John Lawson, the English Surveyor-General, traveled through the province of Carolina. In that eastern part inhabited by belligerent Tuscarora Indians he observed the vast swamps and marshes, the dense forests of loblolly pine and gum trees, and the lazy tributaries of the Neuse River.[1] In 1711 he was killed by the Tuscaroras. The area explored by Lawson underwent a significant change between the publication of his travel account in 1709 and the outbreak of the American Revolution. During this period North Carolina became a separate province and passed

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[1] John Lawson, History of North Carolina. Edited by Frances Harriss. (Richmond, 1951), pp. 58-60.

from the control of the Lords Proprietors to the English Crown. The population of the colony increased, settlements gradually moved up the eastern rivers, and the Indian menace was removed. The scattered villages and broad cultivated acres established in the counties of Greene, Pitt, Lenoir, and Craven within a relatively short time presented a picture of this area radically different from Lawson's account.[2]

Those settlers who participated in this spectacular transformation of the colony of North Carolina included persons by the name of Brooks. Members of this family had settled in the colony as early as 1649. A John Brooks, one of those "dissenting persons called Baptist," received land grants in Craven County during the first half of the eighteenth century. He later joined the westward movement and established his new home in Pitt County. Later still, several of his kinsmen were granted lands in Craven County. By 1775 various branches of this Brooks family had settled throughout the coastal plains region of North Carolina. With the outbreak of the American Revolution members of the family in this area cast their lot against the Crown and joined the rebel army.[3]

After the Revolution one branch of the Brooks family con-

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[2] Hugh Lefler and Albert Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, 1954), pp. 69-70; D. L. Corbitt, The Formation of North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943 (Raleigh, 1950), pp. xii-xv.

[3] J. Montgomery Seaver, Brooks Family History (Philadelphia, n. d.), p. 24; Ida Brooks Kellam, Brooks and Kindred Families (n.p., 1950), pp. 7-8.

tinued to live on the fertile lands along the Neuse River in Craven County that had been granted to their ancestor, Joseph Brooks, in 1769. His grandson and namesake, Joseph Brooks, who married Margaret Jones, was a man of some means, especially after their inheritance of a considerable sum from her father in 1837.[4] Their second child, born on July 20, 1843, was a son, Edward Jones Brooks.[5] The child grew up on his father's farm in Craven County and apparently received a considerable amount of formal education. At any rate, he later taught school near his home and throughout life manifested a keen interest in education.[6]

In the meantime, the dark clouds of civil war gathered over the young nation. North Carolina seceded from the Union, and men in eastern Carolina rallied to the standard of the Confederacy, leaving their cotton and tobacco fields to the encroaching wilderness. Among the early enlistments into the Confederate Army from the eastern counties was young Edward Jones Brooks. On June 6, 1861, at the age of eighteen he became a

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[4] Kellam, Brooks and Kindred Families, pp. 144-6.

[5] Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmonds Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

[6] The Brooks farm was located in that portion of Craven County that was included in the new county of Pamlico created in 1872. E. C. Brooks, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch," (Typewritten), D. H. Hill Library, North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, North Carolina; Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmonds Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

member of a cavalry outfit called the Pamlico Volunteers.[7] Shortly thereafter, his father and brother also entered Confederate military service.

Edward Brooks served the Southern cause throughout the duration of the war and rose to the rank of Ordenance Sergeant of Company I, of the Second North Carolina Regiment. This regiment, including Brooks' company called the "Beauregard Rifles," was ordered to Virginia at the time of the first Battle of Manassas, and for six months was engaged in severe drilling on the bleak banks of the Potomac River. The Second Regiment withdrew to Goldsboro, North Carolina when Burnside captured New Bern in March, 1862. Several months later the regiment again moved northward and participated in the Peninsula Campaign. It incurred heavy losses in the wholesale butchery at Antietam.[8] Edward Brooks was severely wounded in this battle and was left for dead on the field. He was later picked up by Union troops and carried to a Catholic hospital in Baltimore. The efficient and sympathetic care of the nuns not only restored the health of their young patient, but also inspired in him an enduring respect and admiration for the Catholic Church. Brooks was among

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[7] Roll of Honor, North Carolina Troops, 1861-63, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[8] John W. Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War Between the States, I, (Raleigh, 1882), p. 73; Walter Clark, Editor, Histories of the Several Regiments and Battlions from North Carolina in the Great War, I, (Raleigh, 1901), pp. 158-75.

those prisoners exchanged on December 13, 1862.[9] Apparently he returned to his regiment and took part in the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. He was again captured on November 7, 1863, and there seems to be no further record of his military service.[10] For the remainder of his life, however, he bore the scars of wounds that he received at Antietam. One of these, a grotesque mark on his face, supposedly accounted for the Van Dyke beard that he wore after the war.[11]

With the collapse of the Confederacy Brooks started a bleak trek back to Craven County. En route home he visited his distant relatives near Edward's Bridge on the Contentnea Creek in Greene County. Here Brooks first learned of the death of his father and brother in the battle at Fort Fisher. But his visit in Greene County was not totally shrouded by this tragic news, for during this visit Brooks renewed an acquaintanceship with a distant cousin, Martha Eleanor Brooks, then an attractive seventeen-year-old girl. This fair cousin was undoubtedly sufficient reason for him to extend his stay in Greene County. After a brief courtship he returned to his father's plantation in Craven County.[12]

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9 Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, p. 73.

10 Moore, Roster of North Carolina Troops, p. 73.

11 Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmonds Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

12 "Item from the papers of Eugene Clyde Brooks in his own handwriting," Scrapbook II, Eugene Clyde Brooks Papers, Duke University Library. Hereafter cited as Brooks Papers (DUL).

Brooks did not stay at home long. The ubiquitous signs of defeat coupled with the death of his father and brother probably made home a lonely place. In any case, he returned to Greene County and resumed his courtship of Martha Brooks. In time he won her hand in marriage, but her mother placed one restriction upon the union before she would give her consent. She asked Brooks to promise never to take his bride to live in Craven County which was then considered a fertile breeding ground for various diseases, especially malaria and typhoid fever.[13] Brooks agreed to this request and married his cousin Martha on January 21, 1869.[14]

The couple settled in Greene County near the bride's home and lived there for several years. In 1872 they moved several miles south into Lenoir County and established their new home near the place where the English Surveyor-General, John Lawson, had crossed the Contentnea Creek.[15] The location of the Brooks farm was in the rural community of Bethel in Contentnea Neck Township about a mile from the present town of Grifton. Bethel lay in that northeastern corner of Lenoir County bordering Pitt and Greene Counties. Contentnea Neck Township, covering the area between the Neuse River and the Contentnea Creek, contained

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[13] Ibid.; Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[14] Brooks Family Bible, Owned by Mrs. E. C. Brooks, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[15] "Dr. E. C. Brooks," The State (June 19, 1937), p. 3.

rich farm and timber lands and large swamps.[16]

Brooks' early married life fell within the chaotic period following the Civil War when North Carolina, a state of the defeated Confederacy, lay under the yoke of Reconstruction. The combination of an impoverished people, a corrupt Republican government, and an uneasy relationship between the white and Negro races produced a situation unfavorable to the political success of an ex-Confederate soldier who was a loyal supporter of the Democratic Party. So long as the state remained under the domination of Republican officials Edward Brooks possessed few outlets for his political ambitions.[17]

In 1876 the Democrats returned to power in North Carolina. They immediately introduced changes in the government that assured the continuation of their political control of the state. One such change empowered the legislature to appoint justices of the peace who in turn chose the county commissioners and approved the action of the commissioners in all important matters. In addition to their judicial duties, the justices controlled the election machinery of the county and the appointment of registrars and judges in the voting precincts.[18] The "redemption" of the state by the Democrats precipitated a rise in the

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[16] The Kinston Free Press (Kinston, North Carolina), Industrial Issue of 1906; Pearce's Map of North Carolina (New York, 1871).

[17] For an account of Reconstruction in North Carolina see J. G. deR. Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (Raleigh, 1906).

[18] Paul Eager, County Government and Administration in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1928), pp. 22, 222-23.

fortunes of Edward Brooks. In 1883 he was appointed a justice of the peace in Lenoir County, a post which meant influence and prestige.[19] Henceforth, Brooks was called "Squire," a title commonly applied to justices in the area.[20]

By this time he had undoubtedly become one of the significant figures in his community. Moreover, the fees that he collected as a justice enhanced his pecuniary wealth and enabled him to extend his landholdings. In 1883 he bought forty acres of land in Contentnea Neck Township for thirty dollars. Three other purchases in 1884, 1886, and 1894 increased his original lands by 163 acres.[21] Brooks' landholdings, however, were considered only "average size" by local standards.[22] Thus, the popular respect for Edward Brooks was by no means based upon his material possessions; rather it stemmed from his honest, efficient execution of his official duties and his active participation in the civic life of the community. He was described as a "very

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19 W. W. Dunn to E. J. Brooks, August 21, 1883, E. J. Brooks Papers, Duke University Library.

20 Eugene C. Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 23. E. C. Brooks Papers in the possession of Mr. B. L. Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina. Hereafter cited as Brooks Papers (BLS).

21 Deeds and Mortgages of Lenoir County, Book 5, pp. 461-62; Book 9, p. 145; Book 17, p. 519. Office of the Register of Deeds, Lenoir County Court House, Kinston, North Carolina. In 1880 Edward Brooks owned seventy acres of land that produced crops valued at $1000, including 625 bushels of corn and sixteen bales of cotton. See Tenth Census of the United States, Agriculture Schedule, Lenoir County, Contentnea Neck Township, p. 17. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

22 Interview with Mrs. Anna Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956.

aristocratic, but lovable man."[23] He was a prominent figure in the local units of the Masonic organization and held the highest offices in both the Roundtree and Grifton lodges.[24] He also played an important role in the educational progress of Lenoir County. As a member of the county board of education, he was a constant advocate of better schools at a time when public education received little popular support.[25]

In 1892 Brooks became a candidate for the State House of Representatives on the Democratic ticket. The Lenoir County Democrats opened their campaign "at the Rose of Sharon in Contentnea Neck" late in August. They encountered strong opposition from the Populists candidates, and one observer noted that "times are serious, and disaster may be before us if the Democrats do not prevail in the coming election."[26] During the latter part of September, 1892, a group of prominent young politicians including Charles B. Aycock and Josephus Daniels invaded Lenoir County to aid the Democratic candidates.[27] On

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Grifton Lodge #452 to Whom It May Concern, March 24, 1894, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL). See also Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons of North Carolina, 1890 (Raleigh, 1890), pp. 66, 110.

[25] See Kinston Free Press, September 8, 1892; Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmond Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

[26] New Bern Weekly Journal (New Bern, North Carolina), August 25, 1892.

[27] New Bern Weekly Journal, November 3, 1892. See also Kinston Free Press, November 10, 1892.

November 10, 1892, the Lenoir County correspondent of the New Bern Weekly Journal reported: "The entire Democratic County ticket is elected without doubt. Brooks is the lowest man and will have at least 60 majority." Brooks reached the apex of his political career with this slim victory. In the General Assembly of 1893 he was a member of the Committee on the Justices of the Peace and the Committee on Deaf and Dumb Institutions.[28] There is little reason to believe that any especial distinction attended his tenure in the legislature, particularly in view of his frequent absences from the sessions because of "sickness in the family."[29]

II

On December 3, 1871, while still living in Greene County, Edward and Martha Brooks had been blessed with the arrival of their first son. His name was Eugene Clyde Brooks, but he was called "Genie", and later "Gene". Before the boy was a year old the Brooks family moved to its new home in Lenoir County.[30]

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[28] Journal of the House of Representatives of North Carolina, Session of 1893, pp. 33, 75. Hereafter cited as House Journal.

[29] Ibid., pp. 185, 319, 490. Brooks did vote for Lee S. Overman as Speaker of the House and introduced two local bills. Ibid., pp. 11, 224, 371.

[30] The birthplace of Eugene C. Brooks is frequently given as Lenoir County and sometimes as Pitt County. Actually, however, he was born in that southeastern corner of Greene County near Edward's Bridge that bordered Lenoir and Pitt Counties. Brooks, "Eugene C. Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch," p. 1.

He and his older sister, Lucy, along with six younger brothers and sisters spent their early years in the Lethel community of Contentnea Neck Township.[31] One of Genie's earliest recollections was an accident that befell him at the age of four. Even at this tender age he liked to go to the nearby woods with the men of the farm to chop wood. He begged his father for a little ax, and after much persuasion his father presented him with a hatchet. Genie immediately started running toward the woods to demonstrate his skill in hewing trees. He ran along the path with his head held high and his hatchet clutched tightly. Suddenly, he tripped over a vine and fell to the ground. The hatchet slipped from his grip and completely severed the little finger from his left hand. He returned home quickly and received medical attention. But the same day he went back to the scene of the accident, found his finger, and buried it with a fanfare comparable to the state funeral for Santa Anna's leg.[32]

Brooks' childhood companions included his brothers and sisters, his numerous cousins in the area, and the children of such neighboring families as the Pittmans and Barwicks.[33] At an early age Brooks and his four brothers began to share in the

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[31] Eleven children were born to Edward and Martha Brooks. Three of them died in infancy. In the order of their birth the Brooks children were: Lucy, 1870; Eugene Clyde, 1871; Margaret Francis, 1873; Hugh Cecil, 1875; Seldon Marion, 1877; Luther Osborn, 1880; Mary Edmond, 1882; Martha Eleanor, 1884; Jesse Pittman, 1886; Walter Spivey, 1888; Glenn, 1895. Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmond Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

[32] Ibid.; "Dr. E. C. Brooks," The State (June 19, 1937), p. 3.

[33] Interview with Mrs. Anna Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956.

many chores around their father's farm. In his later years he looked upon his childhood as a period of intense physical activity and "good times". He and the other children of Bethel community, both white and Negro, always had adequate time for recreation after they had finished their work on the farm. In the summer months they participated in various outdoor sports, especially ball games, and enjoyed swimming and fishing in nearby streams. In the fall Brooks joined "bird hunting parties". At sunset they would watch for the roosting places of larks and quails; then, at nightfall the hunters carrying flaming torches would flush the birds into a large net. Brooks "greatly enjoyed" this sport.[34] Other forms of recreation included card-playing and the Saturday night gatherings of community young people at the Brooks' home for the "quadrille and Virginia reel." Brooks' parents known as "Mr. Ed" and "Miss Pattie" were extremely popular among the younger set, and their home, an eight room bungalow surrounded by a white picket fence and large oak trees, was a kind of community center for parties and other forms of entertainment.[35]

Among Brooks' closest associates were the children of the Negro tenant families. He gained first hand knowledge of these people in one of those eastern counties with a dense Negro population. His community of Contentnea Neck possessed a greater

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[34] Eugene C. Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 2, Brooks Papers (BLS).

[35] Ibid.; Interview with Mrs. Anne Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956; Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmond Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

concentration of Negroes than any other township in Lenoir County.[36] The Brooks boys frequently visited the cabins of the Negroes and stuffed themselves with hog jowl, turnip greens, and corn bread until "their bellies bulged out like melons."[37] The relations between Negro and white children in the area were usually very harmonious, but occasionally young Brooks and his friends would insult the Negro children on their way to school and "fights would ensue." Severe punishments always awaited Brooks after his participation in one of these clashes, because his parents considered it a serious offense for their children to treat anyone with disrespect.[38] Brooks' association with the Contentnea Neck Negroes undoubtedly molded his attitude toward the race in general. He always remembered an old Negro woman's statement: "Ain't nobody can tell what a little boy will do. I raised eight of them and ain't narry one of them airy manner of count."[39]

The popularity of the Brooks' family in Bethel community rested mainly upon their quality of "neighborliness." Young Brooks with his father and brothers aided the neighbors without charge in "wheat threshing, log rolling, and house raising."

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[36] Kinston Free Press, Industrial Issue, 1906. See also Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, I, (Washington, 1883), p. 403.

[37] Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 1.

[38] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 5.

[39] Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 1.

Whenever his father slaughtered a "calf, pig or kid" Brooks took part of the fresh meat into the family buggy and distributed it among friends. This spirit of community cooperation, which so vividly impressed Gene Brooks, found additional expression in services to neighbors in distress. On one occasion Henry Cannon, a nearby farmer, was unable to cultivate his crops, because of a severe case of typhoid fever. After investigating Cannon's plight, Squire Brooks sent his son, Gene, to request the neighbors to come to the rescue of the sick man. On the appointed day a crowd of men, led by the Squire, assembled at the Cannon farm and soon put the fields "in excellent condition." In the meantime Gene Brooks had assisted his mother, who customarily "fed every needy person in the community," and Mrs. Cannon in nursing the latter's husband. The later teachings of Eugene Brooks suggest that these instances of "voluntary cooperation among the farmers of Contentnea Neck" made an indelible impression upon him.[40]

Religion was another strong influence in his early life. His father who stood "at the head of his church relations" impressed upon him certain rules of conduct.[41] Squire Brooks taught his son that "to be without the law was to be outlawed," and that the "first duty of the gentleman is to obey the law." He insisted that "any man has the right to insult you, when you

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[40] Brooks, "The Education of A North Carolinian," pp. 29-31.

[41] Grifton Lodge #452 to Whom It May Concern, March 24, 1894, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

are beyond the pale of the law."[42] This instruction regarding respect for law and order probably provided the foundation for young Brooks' later work and writings in that direction. His mother, "a woman of the purest Christian character," was a devout member of St. John's Episcopal Church in Pitt County.[43] She was undoubtedly responsible for her son's interest in Bible stories and his attendance at the monthly church meetings. Her greatest ambition for her eldest son was that he should become a minister of the gospel.[44] Although Brooks did not enter the ministry, his early interest in religious affairs remained with him throughout life.

During his early years Brooks was strongly impressed by the fiery preachers who visited the community. The fear of God's wrath was a constant theme of their sermons. They thundered against card games and dancing and especially against athletic games held on Sundays. These preachers closely identified health and religion and explained the acceleration of the mortality rate in the area by typhoid fever, malaria, and tuberculosis as the work of a God whose wrath had been aroused by the sins of the victims or their ancestors. Mothers prayed to this dreadful God while, amid unsanitary conditions, disease spread

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[42] Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 2.

[43] Grifton Lodge #452 to Whom It May Concern, March 24, 1894, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL); Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmonds Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

[44] Interview with Mrs. Anna Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956.

rapidly from one member of their families to another.[45] Evidently these doctrines of a wrathful God were not completely lost upon young Brooks. He wrote in his memoirs that "one boy in the neighborhood, seeing the wrath of God, terrible in its visitation, decided to study for the ministry in order that he might be able to warn people of the terrible wrath of God--and that he himself might escape."[46] Possibly this is a reference to himself, because in 1890 he expressed his intention of becoming a minister.[47]

Not only did Brooks listen to the rantings of local preachers but was subjected to the discussions by farmers gathered at the country store in Bethel. Certainly this community center seems to have made a vivid impression upon him. The store contained the post office, "a small alcove at the rear where liquors were sold," and "long benches ... in front for visitors." The traveling salesmen, arriving in covered wagons full of patent medicines, tobacco products, and other merchandise, brought to Bethel news from other parts of the state. The store was also the scene of political meetings and discussions. At the age

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45 Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 1; Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 8. Apparently, Brooks was an unusually robust child and seems to have escaped most of the serious diseases common among children in that locality. At the age of three, however, he did have a severe case of measles followed by pneumonia. Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 5/11/31, Medical Record Library, Duke Hospital.

46 Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 1.

47 Eugene C. Brooks to John F. Crowell, July 15, 1890, Trinity College Papers, Duke University Library.

of five Brooks was introduced to politics as he sat near his father at the store listening to the heated debates over the state and national elections of 1876. The disputed presidential election of that year stirred these Lenoir County farmers even to "talk of another war."[48]

At one of these country store gatherings Brooks, then about fourteen years old, first heard a Captain Barker relate his "dream" for the Southern states. The captain listened to the numerous complaints about the actions of the North, then explained that the South's desire to win economic independence could only be achieved through hard work and the development of its resources. He concluded: "When we are independent of the North, we will be superior. When we make the same things it makes, when we cease to make for them, we will be their masters."[49] These words fired the imagination of young Brooks who lived to make a distinct contribution to the realization of Captain Barker's dream of a New South.

One of Brooks' most delightful childhood experiences was his visit with his maternal grandmother at Edward's Bridge where his uncle, Sam Brooks, was building a country store. He was permitted to carry meals to his uncle and to watch the construction of the building. After its completion the store, a subsidiary of a large mercantile firm in Kinston, made life "full of in-

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[48] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 34.

[49] Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 2.

teresting events" for young Brooks. His excitement mounted as "the flat boats came up the creek from New Bern ..., unloaded at the landing, and departed." At this juncture the boy's ambition was "to be a storekeeper." The failure of his uncle's mercantile venture caused Brooks "great disappointment." He must have been near tears as he witnessed the selling of the merchandise at public auction.[50] Despite his uncle's misfortune, Brooks retained his love for the country store and his desire to operate one. In later years he wrote that the country store

> ... was the institution that I loved. To see the clerk handling the goods across the counter and taking in the money, to see boxes of goods hauled up from the river or from Kinston fifteen miles away and the shelves replenished just fascinated me. In the evenings the number [of visitors] would increase, arguments grew heated. Sometimes fights would ensue. The two or three old troopers would get drunk promptly. But this was life and a cross section of North Carolina life and I loved life.[51]

Being the son of a justice of the peace afforded Brooks a peculiar vantage point from which to observe the operation of the political and legal machinery on the local level during the period following Reconstruction. The justices, appointed by the legislature, were the real centers of political power in the several counties in this period. Their restoration to power in 1876 was occasioned by the desire of the Democrats "to rescue the eastern counties from the extravagance and danger of negro

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[50] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," pp. 34-35.

[51] Ibid., p. 34.

and carpetbag rule."[52] According to Brooks, the party guardians in Lenoir County "were not wanting in political cunning when they desired to remove a man of the opposite political faith."[53] He recalled the fate of one of the justices of the peace in an adjoining township whose "friends" persuaded him to become a candidate for the General Assembly in order to remove him as a J.P. After resigning his post, he learned that his "friends" had defeated his nomination for the other office at the county convention.[54] Young Brooks probably formed his earliest opinion of politicians from such maneuvers. This may partially account for his later displeasure at references to himself as a shrewd politician.[55]

One of the most important occasions for the people of Contentnea Neck Township was the appearance of a legal case important enough for a jury trial. The court usually convened under the shade of a large oak tree with the presiding J. P. seated at a small table flanked on one side by the jurors. The date of the trial found a crowd of nearly one hundred people at the site. Among them were several salesmen displaying "fruit trees, lightning rods, stomach remedies, etc." Young Brooks looked forward to attending the jury trials and thoroughly enjoyed the

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[52] Hager, County Government in North Carolina, p. 59.

[53] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 23.

[54] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[55] Interview with Mrs. H. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

occasions. He greatly admired the lawyers "who moved with dignity through the crowd wearing silk hats and Prince Albert coats." After hearing one "celebrated lawyer" plead his case before the justice of the peace and the jury, Brooks "became convinced that law was the greatest profession" and that he "was destined to become a lawyer."[56]

Not all courts held by the justices created such popular interest as the jury trials. Brooks' father "had to handle all sorts of petty cases, but the most perplexing were the friction and abuses involving domestic relations--friction between husband and wife."[57] In many instances he heard "their troubles", then privately advised them on the proper procedure to follow. By this method Squire Brooks hoped to spare the families the legal fees that they could ill afford. Years later, Brooks recalled one couple who regularly disturbed the peace of Bethel community with their family brawls. He described the husband as "shrewd horse trader and drunkard" and the wife as a "slatternly quarrelsome woman". Whenever her drunken husband beat her, she would run to the Brooks home for protection. "Squire Brooks," she cried hysterically, "he's so mean to me I can't stand him no longer."[58] One night after an especially violent row in which she had been "badly abused," Squire Brooks decided

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[56] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian", p. 26.

[57] Ibid., p. 24.

[58] Ibid., p. 25.

to terminate these disturbances immediately. He deputized a neighbor to bring the guilty man before him, while he and his son, Gene, made preparations to hold the trial on the back porch of the Brooks home. Several minutes later, under the dim light of oil lamps, the culprit stood before the Squire who began "solemnly to outline the case, to name the penalty which might mean a jail sentence and the effect on his crops, and a heavy fine with its effect on the family." Soon he noticed that the man and his wife were weeping, whereupon he offered to terminate the proceedings if the man promised to stop drinking and to cease beating his wife. He asked the woman to "strive to be a better wife." After agreeing to this proposition they "made their marks" on two elaborate documents prepared by Squire Brooks.[59]

The several justices of the peace in Lenoir County assembled on the first Mondays of January and June of each year at the county seat in order to hold a session of the inferior court.[60] This meant of course that Squire Brooks had to travel to Kinston, fifteen miles from his home. Young Gene accompanied his father on these trips, and he later recalled how much he "loved to drive to Kinston on first Mondays".[61] By the time he and the Squire reached Kinston their buggy was filled with hitch-hikers

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[59] Ibid., pp. 24-6.

[60] W. H. Dunn to Edward J. Brooks, August 21, 1883, E. J. Brooks Papers.

[61] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian", p. 27.

who had been waiting for them along the road. Brooks usually sat in the court room while his father was on the bench. He later wrote: "I had occasion to watch the court and to study the lawyers, and their dignity, their importance and their interest in politics and county affairs impressed me very much, and it was decided a lawyer I would become."[62]

For young Gene Brooks the county court room was by no means the only place of interest in Kinston. The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, then the nearest line to the Brooks home, thrilled him. Also in Kinston he first saw an ice factory which he considered nothing short of miraculous. Although the preachers in Bethel community denounced manufactured ice as something unnatural and in opposition to God's will, Brooks was fascinated by it and visited the ice factory whenever possible. In addition to his regular trips on first Mondays he sometimes rode to Kinston in his father's wagons which were sent for farm supplies when low water prevented the usual river transportation between New Bern and Grifton.[63]

The town of Grifton also played an important role in the life of Gene Brooks for about fifteen years. Indeed, this was a town which he was able to observe in the process of growth. He later declared that as a youth he watched the decline of cer-

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Brooks, "A Half Century Ago," p. 2. For a description of Kinston in this period see George Howitzky, Norfolk: The Marine Metropolis of Virginia and the Sound and River Cities of North Carolina (Norfolk, 1889), pp. 180-83.

tain communities in favor of others possessing "more of the factors that promote progress." According to him, the financial failure of the country store was usually the overt manifestation of a community's decline. Certainly, he witnessed the "passing" of the once prosperous community of Edward's Bridge which first lost its store, then its school and church. This was followed by the removal of its families to the new prosperous settlement of Bethel. During Brooks' adolescence Bethel underwent a similar change in favor of nearby Bell's Ferry. This hamlet, located on the banks of the Contentnea Creek in Lenoir and Pitt Counties, grew rapidly for a few years after the federal government made the Contentnea navigable. Steamboats traveled regularly between New Bern and Bell's Ferry, bringing farm supplies for that tri-county area around the latter place.[64] Frank Pittman started the first passenger-boat service between the two towns and his young relative, Gene Brooks, probably made his first trip to New Bern aboard The Cobb.[65] Bell's Ferry soon became the commercial center for a rather wide area including parts of the counties of Greene, Lenoir, and Pitt. Saw-milling, cotton-ginning, and grist-milling moved toward this center. Brooks' relatives, the Pittmans, sold their large plantation near Bethel and moved to Bell's

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[64] Kinston Free Press, Industrial Issue of 1906; Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 32.

[65] Interview with Mrs. Anna Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956.

Ferry in order to engage in these industries.[66]

In 1883 the village of Bell's Ferry was incorporated and six years later its name was changed to Grifton.[67] The growth of Grifton, especially the erection of the Methodist and Disciple churches there, "drew interest from Bethel." The units of the Masonic lodge and the Farmers' Alliance at Bethel also moved to Grifton. The large general store near the wharf, owned by a Cicero Griffin, prospered with the expansion of the town and profited from the financial failures of the country stores at Edward's Bridge and Bethel.[68] Despite the apparent decline of Bethel, the Brooks family remained on their Contentnea Neck farm until 1901 when Squire Brooks purchased a house in Grifton and moved his family there.[69]

One economic advantage of Cicero Griffin's store over the rural stores was its large stock of alcoholic beverages. By 1880, when the liquor question had become a prominent state wide issue, many local acts of the General Assembly prohibited the sale of alcoholic beverages in country stores located near schools and churches.[70] At that time Cicero Griffin possessed a kind

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66 Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 33.

67 Kinston Free Press, Industrial Issue of 1906; Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1883, pp. 762-63.

68 Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 33.

69 Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmond Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956; Memorandum by Mrs. Glenn Brooks Mayberry, October 6, 1956.

70 Daniel Whitener, Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945 (Chapel Hill, 1945), p. 60.

of monopoly on the sale of liquor, since his store was then the only place in Contentnea Neck where it was sold. According to Brooks, the people, of his community considered liquor "necessary as medicine, and nearly everybody used it in some form." For example, it was mixed with quinine for malaria and with camphor for typhoid fever. "In the late 70's," Brooks observed, "nearly everybody took his dram and joked about prohibition."[71] The agitation about the liquor question in Lenoir County, especially among church organizations, was not chiefly concerned with its medicinal uses, but with the "sorry social spectacle" produced by the numerous drunkards.[72] In the state referendum on prohibition in 1881 Contentnea Neck and Lenoir County voted overwhelmingly against the measure, and in the whole state the vote was more than three to one against prohibition.[73] Thus, Cicero Griffin continued his profitable liquor trade. His store's "small side room" with an open bar and a convenient distillery was the scene of riotous gatherings and noisy brawls especially during cotton-selling season.[74]

One autumn day in the late 1870's Gene Brooks walked to Grifton on an errand for his father. After transacting his business, he wandered into the bar at Griffin's store. This

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[71] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 17.

[72] Ibid., pp. 15-6.

[73] Whitener, Prohibition in North Carolina, p. 233.

[74] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," pp. 15-6.

proved to be his "sudden introduction to the liquor problem."

He later described the experience as follows:

I wandered into the bar where several people were congregated, for it was fall of the year. Cotton was being sold, accounts were being settled, and drinking was very much in evidence. I climbed up on one of the high stools and sat there watching the noisy group as they drank and argued about the falling price of cotton.

Old Anse, a notorious drunkard, boisterous and stormy, offered me a drink of whiskey saying gruffly that it was good medicine on a cold day. This caused a commotion. Grissly Watt Jones who was already drunk began crying and cursed Anse for trying to corrupt a small boy. 'What will his father and mother say,' [he said]

I slid down from my tall seat. Mr. Griffin came in to quiet the crowd. He did this by putting some out, threatening others, and shaming the rest. I slipped out of the store and started for home. Soon Anse and Watt came driving along furiously. When they saw me, Old Anse who was driving pulled his horse down suddenly and commanded me to get into the buggy between him and Grissly Watt. I was frightened, but Old Anse commanded gruffly and I got in.

'You did right Genie not to take that liquor and tell your mother I said so,' said Watt and then he blubbered, 'Stop your horse, Anse, and hand me that tickler.'

Then they both got out and each drank until the tickler was empty. In the meantime I slipped out on the opposite side just as Anse slapped Grissly Watt down. Then he tried to help him back into the buggy ... I was near home and by cutting through the woods I could beat the drunks. The last I saw of them they were running the horse down the road, Old Anse whooping like an Indian and Grissly Watt crying as if his heart would break. That liquor would have such opposite effects on people was one of my great discoveries that day.

When I told my mother she wept and wrung her hands, and sent for father. I had to repeat the story. 'I'll see Anse,' father said sternly, and I knew the worst had occured. 'I think I'd better have a talk with Cicero Griffin,' he concluded ... What transpired during these interviews I never knew, but I was commanded to stay out of the liquor room of Griffin's store.[75]

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[75] Ibid., p. 16.

The sober Squire Brooks and his pious wife impressed upon their son the evils of alcohol which were quite evident in the local community. Pointing to a drunkard along the road one day, Squire Brooks said to his son: "That is a descendent of Governor Caswell."[76] Young Brooks also received instruction in the moral and social implications of liquor in the church and school. In the classroom he studied books prepared by prohibitionists, "showing the harmful effects of liquor on the human body," and entered declamation contests on temperance subjects.[77] He also witnessed the numerous trials conducted by his father as a result of alcoholic intoxication. Brooks' personal sobriety and support of prohibition movements in his later life apparently owed much to his early experience with the liquor problem in Lenoir County.[78]

For nineteen years the social, political, and economic activities of the rural community of Bethel formed a significant part of the education of Eugene Brooks. He later insisted that "the forces that promote development are so many that only a few have been classified in the past as educative, but the unclassified are and have been more influential than the classi-

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[76] Ibid., p. 17.

[77] Ibid., p. 19.

[78] Brooks was a member of the Advisory Board of the World Prohibition Movement. See Proceedings and Addresses of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Session of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, 1919 (Raleigh, 1920), p. 31.

fied."[79] Indeed Brooks felt that these "unclassified" educational forces in Contentnea Neck were definitely more influential in his early development than the early formal education that he received from schools that compared favorably with institutions of a similar character in other parts of the state during the same period.

III

The public schools of Lenoir County as elsewhere in North Carolina were "exceedingly primitive" during the late 1870's.[80] In fact, little progress was made in the field of public education in the state from 1876 to 1890, the period of Brooks' early formal training. This was an era in which the people were preoccupied with other needs and interests. Only a small group of individuals and several influential organizations remained loyal to the cause of public education, and their persistent attempts to improve a highly defective school system were frustrated by a poverty-stricken people unwilling, perhaps unable, to pay the taxes necessary for efficient schools. The unhealthy educational legacies of Reconstruction, including the racial question and the loss of confidence in the state school officials, coupled with the widely current idea of public schools as charity

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[79] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 1.

[80] Ibid., p. 20.

institutions fostered this populer apathy and hostility.[81]

Brooks' formal education began in a private school located on the family farm. A public school was conducted somewhere in the community, but according to Brooks, "it was too common for us to attend."[82] Therefore, Squire Brooks and several relatives established a private school first in an abandoned store building, then later in a vacant log house on the Brooks property. They employed the Squire's sister-in-law as the teacher. It was in this so-called "dame's school" that young Brooks, his eldest sister and their cousins, and several others began their formal training.[83]

After several years of private education Gene Brooks attended Phillips School located almost two miles from his home. This "free school" was held in one of the buildings erected before the Civil War under the administration of State Superintendent Calvin Wiley. It was a log structure about sixteen feet square with a large fireplace at one end, a door at the other, several windows with wooden shutters, and "long plank benches ... without backs." The school possessed no sanitary facilities or drinking water, and the nearest residence was a mile away. The children of Phillips School quinched their thirst from a stream, since a local superstition held that any water drunk by

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[81] Willard Gatewood, Jr., "Some Phases of Public Education in North Carolina, 1876-1890," (an unpublished paper), pp. 68-71.

[82] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 10.

[83] Ibid., p. 10.

cows and horses was pure enough for human consumption. Young Brooks found it "thrilling to lie down flat and let the water ripple past your nose and mouth... or to dip it up in your cap." Unfortunately, he found the school work "uninteresting" and largely "unintelligible" because of the amount of rote memory involved. He was bored by the long hours of recitation, an essential part of the teaching method then in vogue, but he "did thoroughly enjoy the frequent play periods." Because of the crowded conditions at Phillips School, the younger children remained outdoors except during the recitation of their lessons. In these free hours at school Brooks and his friends "roamed the woods, waded in the branch, hunted birds and snakes, and ... became fairly good nature lovers."[84]

At Phillips School Brooks was introduced to his first reading book. Previously his "main burden" had been Webster's Blue Back Speller, for which he had "no love." He "spent days of anguish" in learning to spell the words, "assassin" and "incomprehensibility." His failure to distinguish between the spelling of "there" and "their" resulted in his being slapped by the teacher. Shortly afterward, when commanded to spell one of these words correctly, he rose and in a clear voice

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[84] Ibid., p. 10-11; Brooks' sister testified to his dislike of school and insisted that he would frequently fall from the footbridge into the creek on his way to school in order to be able to return home for dry clothes. He would usually remain there for the rest of the day. Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmond Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956.

spelled the word--"thare." He accomplished this feat through the aid of whispers from a friend "who was in trouble over his reading." The fact that he "simply could not spell" posed difficulties for him in reading, while the punctuation exercises in connection with his reading lessons caused him almost as much pain as a spelling bee.[85] "I read nothing that impressed me," Brooks confessed, "and I was censured for bringing John Halifax to school." However, he did like the exercises in sentence diagraming in Reed and Kellog's Grammar and was proficient in arithmetic and geography, his favorite subjects.[86] In spite of his difficulties in certain fields, one of his teachers at Phillips School, Miss Annie Daly, often referred to him as "the brightest pupil" she ever taught.[87]

Around 1880 Squire Brooks and other "leading land-owners" in Bethel community began to consider means to improve the educational opportunities of their children. The local Masonic lodge provided a convenient place for the discussion of their plans, since most of the interested men belonged to this organization. After several months of planning, they organized Bethel Academy and incorporated the institution under a board of trustees. The board fixed the tuition rates at one dollar a month per pupil for the primary subjects and three dollars for

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[85] Ibid., p. 11.

[86] Ibid., p. 7.

[87] Interview with Mr. John O. Lawson, September 7, 1956.

the advanced subjects which included algebra and Latin. For several years the school had only one teacher and never more than two. In addition to its local clientele Bethel Academy attracted students from Craven, Pitt, and Greene Counties who lived with families in the vicinity of the school.[88]

Squire Brooks, as chairman of the Academy trustees, apparently bore the burden of establishing the school. He supervised the building of the school house, then immediately began corresponding with President Kemp P. Battle of the University of North Carolina about securing a capable teacher. Following Battle's strong recommendation, the board of trustees hired J. D. Murphy, a recent university graduate, as the first teacher at Bethel Academy at a salary of five hundred dollars for ten months. After establishing the school, Squire Brooks' duties consisted mainly of collecting the monthly tuition fees from the patrons of the Academy. Professor Murphy as well as his successors "always" lived with the Brooks family.[89]

Families with several children in the school could not easily afford to pay the tuition fees. Therefore, Squire Brooks sought to remedy this difficulty by supporting a measure which

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[88] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," pp. 3, 12-13. The first trustees of Bethel Academy were Edward Brooks, W. H. Roundtree, A. G. Coward, M. Spivy, J. L. Ives, R. S. Abbott, Benjamin Phillips, and C. T. Barwick. See Kinston Free Press, Industrial Issue of 1906.

[89] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," pp.12-13. In 1894 Squire Brooks was one of the leaders in the movement to build a school in Grifton. See Kinston Free Press, July 12, 1894.

would convert Bethel Academy to a free school open to all white children in the community. In the General Assembly of 1883 W. T. Dortch of Wayne County introduced a local option school bill that Squire Brooks heartily endorsed.[90] The Dortch Act, enacted without serious opposition, provided that upon the request of ten voters from white or Negro school districts, the county commissioners "shall decide whether the question shall be submitted to the voters." Whenever approved by the voters, the special tax could not exceed twenty-five cents on the hundred dollar valuation of property and seventy-five cents on the poll. Taxes collected from one race were to be used exclusively for the public schools of that race.[91] With the passage of the act Squire Brooks immediately made preparations to call an election in the Bethel school district. An election in the summer of 1883 resulted in the conversion of Bethel Academy from a private to a public school. It had operated on this basis for only five months, however, when the opponents of the local tax petitioned the county commissioners to call another election. Squire Brooks at once consulted State Superintendent of Public Instruction John C. Scarborough and assured him: "The intelligent tax payers desire assessment continued, but the ignorant and small tax payers have wrought up a feeling against it to the extent that if the same were referred to the voters it might be de-

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[90] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 3.

[91] Public Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883, pp. 225-29.

feated."[92] Brooks insisted that this was "a matter that greatly affects the educational interest of our County."[93] At this point the State Supreme Court settled the matter at least temporarily by declaring the Lortch Act unconstitutional because of the unequal division of taxes on a racial basis.[94] Bethel Academy then resumed operation as a private school.

The Academy was located in the heart of Bethel Community about a mile and a half from the Brooks farm. The building contained two stories: the upper story was an attractive Masonic hall, and the first floor a large school room with "high home-made desks." The structure stood in a large grove of oak trees near the Disciple and Primitive Baptist churches, a blacksmith shop, and a country store. For nearly ten years after the establishment of the Academy Bethel was "the most cultured community in Contentnea Neck."[95]

It was in Bethel Academy that Gene Brooks received the major portion of his formal education before entering college. He left the Phillips School and was present at the opening of the Academy. The school remained in "much confusion" for the first

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[92] E. J. Brooks to J. C. Scarborough, June 3, 1884, S.P.I.-146, Correspondence of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[93] Ibid. See also J. C. Scarborough to E. J. Brooks, June 24, 1884, E. J. Brooks Papers.

[94] North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, February Term, 1885, XLIX, 514.

[95] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 12.

week, owing to the presence of only one teacher to handle the numerous duties of the occasion and to classify the crowd of children according to age and intelligence. Thus, not until his fifth day at Bethel Academy did young Brooks recite his lesson, and then only upon his own request. When he asked Mr. Murphy to listen to his recitation, the teacher "laughed, moved his false tooth up and down," praised him for his "love of knowledge," and promised to grant his request.[96]

For eight years until the spring of 1890 Brooks attended Bethel Academy.[97] After his initial difficulty he apparently had few complaints about the infrequency of his recitations. The demonstration of his intellectual ability in the various subjects won for him the respect of the students and teachers. He excelled in mathematics and Latin and won several medals for his forensic skills. Moreover, his education at the Academy was broadened by his association with pupils from "distant" places in the surrounding counties and by his visits in their homes.[98] Reflecting upon his training at the Academy, Brooks insisted that the value of the classroom instruction "was almost zero," but that "one distinct aid ... in my educational work was the memory of the difficulties, the handicaps, the joys, and the successes of my youthful school days."[99]

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[96] Ibid., p. 13.

[97] Ibid., p. 3-4; North Carolina Education, XVI (June, 1922), p. 13; Trinity (College) Chronicle, September 18, 1907.

[98] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," pp. 7, 9.

[99] Ibid., p. 9.

IV

Upon graduation from Bethel Academy in 1890 Brooks decided to pursue his formal education at Trinity College, a small Methodist institution in Randolph County. The college was established in 1839 as Union Institute. Its name was changed to Normal College in 1851, and five years later it became Trinity College under the control of the Methodist Church. The havoc wrought by the Civil War forced the closing of the college in April, 1861, but it re-opened within a year.[100] The history of Trinity College during Reconstruction, or indeed from 1842 to 1882, is largely the story of the heroic struggles in its behalf by Braxton Craven. In 1887 the energetic and able John Franklin Crowell became president of this struggling institution whose property consisted of a ten acre campus and one large brick building of three stories.[101] Trinity College underwent a remarkable renaissance during Crowell's administration between 1887 and 1894.

In the midst of this new era for Trinity Brooks applied for admission to the college. In mid-summer, 1890, he corresponded with President Crowell concerning his admission and the possibility of receiving financial aid. Brooks wrote that

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[100] See Nora Chaffin, Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University (Durham, 1950), pp. 43-91, 167-71, 249-50.

[101] John F. Crowell, Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894 (Durham, 1939), pp. 36-37.

owing to short crops and other misfortunes for the past three or four years, my father is not in a condition to be very much help to me financially for the present, and knowing the circumstances, I have resolved, with the help of friends, to secure an education and should the officers of Trinity College be willing to assist me by a loan of a small amount for a while it will be accepted with a feeling of gratitude.[102]

Brooks might have added that the education of his sister, Lucy, who read her validictory at Greensboro Female College in 1890, had placed an additional expense upon the family for several years.[103] He assured President Crowell that he desired "to study for the ministry," if he should go to college.[104]

Crowell granted his request for a loan,[105] and Brooks matriculated at Trinity College in September, 1890. The first glimpses of college life in such a distant place as Randolph County must have been rather frightening to him. But this "big country boy"[106] possessed a pleasing personality and "a happy soul"[107] that immediately won for him a wide circle of friends among the faculty and students. He was enthusiastic about his college studies and responsive to the stimuli pro-

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[102] Eugene C. Brooks to John F. Crowell, July 15, 1890, Trinity College Papers.

[103] Grifton Lodge #542 to Whom It May Concern, March 4, 1894, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[104] Eugene C. Brooks to John F. Crowell, July 15, 1890, Trinity College Papers.

[105] E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, September 29, 1928, William Preston Few Papers (In the possession of the President of Duke University).

[106] Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 19, 1956.

[107] Interview with Mrs. Anna Pittman Purvis, June 10, 1956.

vided by that remarkable corps of professors at Trinity during Crowell's administration.[108]

Having entered a liberal arts college, Brooks concentrated his attention upon the humanities. He seems to have given up the idea of becoming a minister shortly after his arrival at Trinity. Nevertheless, he retained his interest in religious matters, particularly through the college Young Men's Christian Association. He also joined the Methodist Church while a student,[109] but the various courses in history, economics, and English apparently consumed the major portion of his time and attention. His grades indicated that he excelled in these fields. During his freshman year Brooks studied Roman history under Professor John Spencer Bassett and achieved a grade of ninety.[110] The same year he took several other courses including English under Professor J. L. Armstrong, author of A Grammar of English, and physiology under Professor W. H. Pegram. During his sophomore year Brooks studied trigonometry and geometry, history, Latin, and Greek.[111] On January 1, 1892, he received permission from the college to go "home to teach till April."[112] The records do not disclose any information about

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108 Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 19, 1956.

109 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

110 Instructors' Reports, 1890-92, John F. Crowell Papers, Duke University Library.

111 Ibid.; Chaffin, Trinity College, p. 451n.; Report of Attendance, Grades, Progress, and Conduct, 1891-92, Trinity College Papers.

112 Instructors' Report, 1890-92, Crowell Papers.

this teaching position, but it was probably in one of the schools in Contentnea Neck.

At any rate, Brooks returned to school in eptember, 1892, and resumed his studies in the new Trinity College plant in Durham. The campus contained three large buildings and a group of faculty residences. Brooks had a room in the attractive College Inn, one of the new buildings.[113] Amid this new environment he completed the last two years of his colligiate education. In this period three professors wielded a significant influence over him. One of these, Jerome Dowd, a professor of economics and mercantile sciences, became one of his favorite teachers and stimulated his interest in economic questions.[114] Then, in 1894 Edwin Mims, a recent graduate of Vanderbilt University, came to Trinity College as an instructor in English. Brooks took his course in American Literature and later declared that Mims had "kindled him."[115] However, no other member of the college faculty had a greater influence upon him than Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, professor of history and political science. Brooks took "every course" offered by Weeks during the latter's two years at Trinity. Many years later Brooks

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[113] Crowell, Personal Recollections, pp. 169-71.

[114] Trinity College: Catalogue and Announcements For the Year 1893-94 (Durham, 1893), p. 8; Grade Book, 1893-1906, Central Records Office, Duke University; Trinity College Book: Courses for '94, Treasurer's Office, Woman's College of Duke University.

[115] Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 26, 1956; Edwin Mims, "Sixty Years in the Classroom", Greensboro (North Carolina) Daily News March 11, 1956; Grade Book, 1893-1906; The News and Observer (Raleigh, North Carolina) July 11, 1922.

wrote concerning Weeks: "To him more than to any other teacher the writer [Brooks] is indebted for his interest in history and historical research. As a teacher he was not generally popular. But that small group of men at Trinity College ... received at his hand an interest in the relation of cause and effect in history that constitutes the most of the permanent furnishings of the mind that come down from the undergraduate period."[116] Moreover, Weeks' courses provided Brooks some contact with the von Ranke method of historical study, for Weeks had been a student of Professor Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University who was a product of the von Ranke school.[117]

Brooks became a charter member of the Trinity College Historical Society organized by Weeks in 1892.[118] Weeks persuaded Dr. Charles G. Hill, a prominent physician in Baltimore and a native North Carolinian, to give one hundred dollars to be used as annual prizes for the two best papers written by seniors on some phase of North Carolina history. A committee consisting of the college president, the professor of history, and one other "historical student" chose the winners of these prizes.[119] The prize was first offered in 1893. In the following year Presi-

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116 E. C. Brooks, "Stephen B. Weeks," North Carolina Education XII (June, 1913), p. 12.

117 Mamnie M. Tilley, The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941 (Durham, 1941), p. 5.

118 Ibid., p. 104.

119 Ibid., p. 18.

dent Crowell informed the donor of these awards that Eugene C. Brooks' paper on "The Legal Status of Slavery in North Carolina" had won first prize.[120] This was his senior thesis, a requirement inaugurated by Crowell.[121] Brooks also read this paper before the Trinity College Historical Society at its meetings on February 22 and April 5, 1894.[122] The secretary of the Society noted in the minutes that "Mr. Brooks brought out very clearly the social relations of the slaves, mentioning also several laws in regard to slavery."[123]

The Hesperian Literary Society was another campus organization that played an important role in Brooks' college life. As a member of this society,[124] he received training and experience in public speaking, an art that later won him wide recognition. His early demonstration of skill in this direction placed him among the most frequent speakers before the society. The subject of his orations included "The Legacy of Nations," "The Power of Solitude," "Evaluation in Politics," and "The Dawn of

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120 John F. Crowell to Charles G. Hill, June 19, 1894, J. F. Crowell Letter-Press Book, Duke University Library.

121 The Trinity Archive (March, 1894), p. 31; Chaffin, Trinity College, p. 416.

122 Tilley, The Trinity College Historical Society, p. 19.

123 Minutes of the Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1901, p. 20, Duke University Library.

124 Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1892-93, p. 19. Duke University Library.

a Brighter Day."[125] He also served the society in various other capacities especially as a member of the fund-raising and library committees.[126] In 1891-1892 Brooks paid $9.55 to the society treasurer for fines and library fees. He paid fines for such offenses as "lounging," "throwing paper on the floor," and "passing between the president and the speaker."[127]

In addition to the historical and literary societies, Brooks was an active participant in several other campus organizations. He was a member of the Trinity football team in 1893.[128] Also, the secret scholastic order caller "9019," organized in 1890 under the leadership of John Spencer Bassett, considered Brooks for membership in 1892, but the members voted to reject his name.[129] Undoubtedly, one of Brooks' most beneficial extra-curricula activities was his work in college journalism. He and his friend, E. W. Flowers, served as editors of the "Locals Department" of the Trinity Archive, the college magazine established by the Hesperian and Colombian Literary societies in 1887.[130] In this capacity he acted as a kind of reporter of

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[125] Ibid., pp. 38, 43, 60, 70.

[126] Ibid., pp. 34, 91, 76.

[127] Hesperian Literary Society Treasurer's Book, 1891-95. Duke University Library.

[128] H. C. Brooks to N. H. Wannamaker, Dec. 21, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[129] Records and Minutes of the 9019, Trinity College Papers.

[130] Trinity Archive (October, 1893), p. 26; Chaffin, Trinity College, p. 449.

local gossip and news items. Brooks also had two full-length articles published in the Archive. The first article, entitled "What Is Man", was written in flambouyant style and was apparently intended to convey an impression of profundity.[131] His second article, "Should the State Do More for Education," touched a question that was to confront him many times in the future. Brooks argued that North Carolina should raise the level of its elementary schools to the same degree of efficiency that it had achieved in higher education in three state institutions. He insisted that this could be accomplished without "oppressive" taxation. He also argued that the federal government should aid public education, because its taxes were derived from all the people, while only property owners paid state taxes.[132] These articles, despite their lack of literary merit, indicate Brooks' interest in journalism and education, the two fields of endeavor that constituted the major portion of his life's work.

By the time of his graduation from Trinity College in June, 1894, Brooks held a position of respect and esteem among the professors and students alike. In the spring of that year President Crowell wrote Brooks' mother: "Your son, Eugene, is growing in strength of a young man steadily and is, I am sure,

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[131] E. C. Brooks, "What Is Man", The Trinity Archive (February, 1893), pp. 189-92.

[132] E. C. Brooks, "Should the State Do More for Education," The Trinity Archive (December, 1893), pp. 8-11.

bound to be a source of pride and strength to you."[133] Brooks was among eight seniors chosen to deliver orations at the graduation exercises of 1894.[134] His address on "Centralization in America" was a rather eloquent plea for a central government controlled by a strong middle class "that is neither drunk with wealth nor embittered with poverty." He warned that the "pendulum of public opinion," having shifted from individualism, must avoid the mistake of swinging to the other extreme, socialism.[135] Following Brooks' oration the graduation exercises came to a conclusion with the conferring of degrees. On June 14, 1894, Brooks, standing very proudly on the platform in Stokes Hall, received his Bachelor of Arts degree from President John Franklin Crowell.[136] Shortly afterward, he departed from Trinity to embark upon a career in journalism.

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[133] John F. Crowell to Mrs. E. J. Brooks, March 7, 1894, J. F. Crowell Letter-Press Book (1894).

[134] Trinity College Commencement Program, 1894, J. F. Crowell Scrapbook, Duke University Library.

[135] E. C. Brooks, "Centralization in America," Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[136] E. C. Brooks to Charles Edwards, May 23, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Chapter II

EARLY CAREER, 1894-1903

At one time or another in his early life Eugene Brooks entertained ideas of becoming a preacher, a lawyer, and a merchant. While at Trinity College, however, he became interested in journalism and decided to enter that profession upon his graduation. Not only had he gained experience in this work on the Trinity Archive, but President Crowell desired "to put Trinity men into journalism as fast as we can."[1] Crowell himself served as editor of The School-Teacher and later as president of the Educator Company which published The Southern Educator.[2] He seems to have encouraged Brooks' idea of becoming

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[1] John F. Crowell to E. C. Brooks, March 14, 1894, J. F. Crowell Letter-Press Book (1894).

[2] Crowell, Personal Recollections, p. 62; William K. Boyd, The Story of Durham: City of the New South (Durham, 1927), pp. 253-254.

a journalist and frequently advised him on the matter.

Brooks began his search for a job several months before his graduation from college in 1894. His first prospect was a position as assistant to John W. Jenkins, the new editor of the Durham Globe, who heard of Brooks through Crowell. Although the salary was meager, Crowell advised Brooks to accept the position if it were offered. Crowell declared: "You can afford to begin on a small salary with him [Jenkins]. To start with a daily of this kind is a considerable advantage ... You will succeed there if you work hard, read much, and let other things alone."[3] It does not appear, however, that Brooks received an offer from The Globe, for if he had, he would undoubtedly have accepted it.[4]

Shortly afterward, Brooks' second prospect for a job appeared when the editorship of the Orphan's Friend became vacant. This periodical was published under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Masonic Orphan Asylum in Oxford, North Carolina. The editor of the Orphan's Friend was not only responsible for the magazine, but also acted as secretary to the Superintendent. Brooks desired this appointment. President Crowell, strongly recommending him for the post, wrote:

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[3] John F. Crowell to E. C. Brooks, March 14, 1894, J. F. Crowell Letter-Press Book (1894).

[4] It is quite possible that Jenkins did not offer Brooks a position because of the financial condition of The Globe. This newspaper which Professor Boyd described as a pièce de resistance proved to be an unprofitable investment, and Jenkins sold it in July, 1895. Boyd, Story of Durham, pp. 241-46, 249.

Mr. Brooks is trustworthy. It is safe to rely on him to do what he undertakes to do to the best of his ability. Mr. Brooks has good judgment and ample energy to make him an excellent business manager of such a busine.s in case you should find it advisable to combine the management and the editorship. Above all, my confidence in Mr. Brooks' ability is increased by his journalistic work here at the College. This has been of such a kind as to make him a man of experience in this work. You will find that Mr. Brooks has a very apt way of rendering himself of the greatest service in general in such an establishment. You can count on his loyalty to his employer. I heartily commend him to you.[5]

Since the Orphan Asylum was established and maintained by the Masonic organizations of the state,[6] it was important that Brooks receive the support of a local Masonic society. The Grifton Masonic Lodge Number 452 of which his father was then secretary gave him a strong recommendation writing to the Asylum Superintendent: "We, having known him [Brooks] from childhood up, take pleasure in recommending him to you as a young man of unspotted character with exalted aspirations, determined to excel in whatever he undertakes ... His is a family known throughout the community for their integrity and superior intellect."[7] Nevertheless, Brooks failed to obtain the editorship of the Orphan's Friend.

Brooks' difficulties in securing employment in his chosen

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[5] John F. Crowell to the Superintendent of the Oxford Orphan Asylum, March 19, 1894, J. F. Crowell Letter-Press Book (1894).

[6] North Carolina Almanac and Industrial Guide Edited by Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus and Mrs Carl Goerch. (Raleigh, 1950), p. 585.

[7] Grifton Lodge #452 to Whom It May Concern, March 24, 1894, Brooks Papers (DUL).

field can be partially explained by the general economic condition of the country following the Panic of 1893. Brooks seriously considered buying a weekly paper, but he did not possess the necessary financial resources, although according to Professor Jerome Dowd, "many newspapers can be bought for a song." Actually, Dowd advised him to gain at least one year of experience before trying to purchase a newspaper.[8] In any case, Brooks was still without a job at the time of his graduation from Trinity College. Thus, he returned to Lenoir County and probably secured temporary employment in one of the mercantile establishments in Grifton.

Not until the latter part of the summer of 1894 did Brooks secure work with a newspaper. In August of that year Josephus Daniels, then chief clerk in the Department of the Interior, purchased the Raleigh News and Observer.[9] Daniels was already widely known in North Carolina, especially in the eastern counties. He had published the Kinston Free Press for several years and had made addresses in behalf of Edward Brooks' candidacy for the legislature in 1892.[10] In addition to his acquaintance with the Brooks family, Daniels was at that time friendly toward Trinity College and President Crowell,[11] who

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[8] Jerome Dowd to E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1894, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[9] Josephus Daniels, Editor in Politics (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp. 85-101.

[10] New Bern Weekly Journal, November 3, 1892.

[11] Chaffin, Trinity College, pp. 402, 430, 454, 503-04.

recommended Brooks for a position on the staff of the reorganized News and Observer.[12] Since Daniels intended to remain as chief clerk in the Interior Department, he needed a competent assistant to aid him with his column, "The Washington Letter," and with his general editorial and managerial duties.[13] He selected Brooks for this position.

Brooks immediately moved to Washington and took a room in the Daniels home at 1311 H Street. From Raleigh Daniels wrote his wife: "I reckon you mother [Mrs. W. H. Bagley] had better put Mr. Brooks, who brings this note, in the room back of Mr. Woodard's for the present. He is the young man I am going to have help me. I hope he will take a good deal of work off me, and get more business for the paper."[14] On August 24, 1894 Daniels presented Brooks with a letter of introduction which read: "This will introduce Mr. E. C. Brooks who is authorized to collect and receipt for all money due the News and Observer of Raleigh, North Carolina, to solicit and receive subscriptions and advertisements, and to represent the News and Observer in any and all capacities."[15] Apparently Brooks also assisted

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[12] J. P. Crowell to E. C. Brooks, August 4, 1894, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[13] Josephus Daniels to Mrs. Josephus Daniels, August 11, 1894, Josephus Daniels Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[14] Josephus Daniels to Mrs. Josephus Daniels, August 23, 1894, Daniels Papers. The Daniels Papers in the Library of Congress contain very few items relating to the early period of Daniels' control of the News and Observer, because of the two fires that the News and Observer Company has had since 1894.

[15] Josephus Daniels to Whom It May Concern, August 24, 1894, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Daniels in writing the "Washington Letter" and reported various political events and his observations on congressional measures in the News and Observer under the name, "Washington correspondent."[16] In February, 1895, Daniels, having resigned as chief clerk in the Interior Department, devoted his whole time to the newspaper,[17] thereby removing the necessity of Brooks' services.

In anticipation of this change Brooks resigned from the staff of the News and Observer and became affiliated with the Wilson Mirror in Wilson, North Carolina, in January, 1895. It seems reasonable to suppose that Daniels assisted him in securing this position, especially in view of the fact that Daniels had lived in Wilson and had published the Wilson Advance for several years.[18] The Wilson Mirror was a large four-page paper edited by George Blount and Howard J. Herrick. The subscription rate of this "weekly Democratic paper" was "one dollar a year--always in advance."[19] On December 26, 1894, Herrick announced his retirement and advertised his half interest in the newspaper for sale.[20] Brooks and John Gold, a member

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16 Brooks, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch" (Typewritten), p. 1; News and Observer, January 2, 1919.

17 Daniels, Editor In Politics, p. 98.

18 Daniels, Tarheel Editor, pp. 182-88.

19 The Wilson Mirror (Wilson, North Carolina), December 19, 1894.

20 Ibid., December 26, 1894.

of a prominent Wilson family, purchased Merrick's interest.[21] But they could not overcome the financial difficulties of the paper that encountered stiff competition from the Wilson Advance.[22] After about three months Brooks and Gold dissolved their connection with the Mirror and equally divided their profit for that period. Brooks' share came to five dollars.[23] Brooks left Wilson a week before the Mirror ceased publication on May 2, 1895.[24]

He then returned to Washington where he remained for two years. He lived with the Daniels for a short time until the family arranged to return to Raleigh. Anticipating the failure of his venture in Wilson, Brooks had taken a Civil Service examination for employment in one of the federal departments[25] and had received what the Wilson Mirror called "an appointment in the Treasury Department."[26] But this position was not so

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21 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956; State School Facts [Brooks Issue], XIX (July, 1947).

22 There are no extant copies of the Mirror from January to April, 1895, in the State Library in Raleigh, in the libraries of colleges in North Carolina, and the Wilson Public Library. Nor does the Gold family know the whereabouts of copies for this period.

23 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

24 The Wilson Mirror, May 2, 1895.

25 Twelfth Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, July 1, 1894 to June 30, 1895. Document No. 318, House of Representatives, 54th Congress, Second Session. (Washington, 1895), p. 87.

26 The Wilson Mirror, April 25, 1895.

grandiose as the Mirror statement might suggest, for actually he had been appointed a watchman with an annual salary of $720.[27] For Daniels' mother-in-law the most impressive feature of Brooks' new job was the "big long pistol" given him "to use if necessary."[28] Brooks, already an ambitious young man, possessed little interest in this kind of work which could scarcely provide an adequate outlet for his aspirations. However, his later interest in the proper handling of public funds and his efforts to insure efficiency in the conduct of local financial affairs may possibly owe something to his experience in the Treasury Department.

II

In 1897 Brooks returned to North Carolina. In January, 1898, he was able to secure an appointment as principal of the Kernersville Academy in Forsyth County in spite of the fact that his previous experience in teaching consisted of a temporary job in a Lenoir County school.[29] The Academy was "the central

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[27] Official Register of the United States Containing a List of the Officers and Employees, I, (Washington, 1895), p. 51.

[28] Mrs. W. H. Bagley to Mrs. Josephus Daniels, April 27, 1895, Daniels Papers.

[29] Brooks, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch," p. 1; State School Facts [Brooks Issue] XIX (July, 1947); The Kernersville Messenger, (Kernersville, North Carolina), September 8, 1898.

point" of Kernersville, "a quiet country hamlet," located eleven miles east of Winston-Salem. The main street of the town was "handsomely shaded and adorned with many brick residences, stores and factories." Among the most important business enterprises in the town were the tobacco manufacturing establishments of N. S. Sapp, W. H. Leak and E. A. Brown, the general stores of M. W. Sapp and L. P. Davis, and the carriage factory of P. A. Huff and J. R. Stuart.[30] The citizens took pride in the Kernersville Academy which had been established in 1858 by a stock company and later brought under the control of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church.[31]

Shortly after becoming principal, Brooks induced the trustees to enlarge the Academy building and to employ Miss Ruth Blair, a graduate of Guilford College, to assist him in teaching.[32] Brooks himself offered a variety of courses including Latin and advanced algebra. He was extremely popular with the townspeople as well as the students and frequently participated in community activities.[33] While he was in Kernersville, about

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[30] D. P. Hobbins, Descriptive Sketch of Winston-Salem, Its Advantages and Surroundings, Kernersville, Etc. (Winston, 1888), pp. 85-86.

[31] Ibid., pp. 86-89. See also Adelaide Fries et. al., Forsyth: A County on the March (Chapel Hill, 1949), p. 132.

[32] Kernersville Messenger, September 8, 1898.

[33] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

fifty students enrolled in the Academy[34] which constituted "a flattering attendance." In September, 1898, one observer declared that through Brooks' influence the people of Kernersville were "more united on the subject of education than they have been in years past."[35] For Brooks too the year and a half in Kernersville proved to be decisive. This was, in fact, the real beginning of his career in education.

While in Kernersville Brooks became acquainted with the Sapp family. N. W. Sapp, a merchant and tobacco manufacturer as well as a trustee of Kernersville Academy, was one of the town's most prominent citizens.[36] Brooks taught one of his daughters at the Academy and frequently visited in the Sapp home. There he met another daughter, Ida Myrtle. He was soon seeing a great deal of this charming young lady, and several years later was to marry her.[37]

However, in the midst of this courtship, he was offered the position of principal of the Ormandsville High School in Greene County several miles from his childhood home. Under the circumstances it must have been a difficult decision to make, but

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[34] Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, 1898-1900, p. 134. Hereafter cited as Biennial Report.

[35] Kernersville Messenger, September 8, 1898.

[36] Robbins, Descriptive Sketch of Winston-Salem and Surroundings, pp. 91-92; Memorandum by Mrs. E. C. Brooks, September 30, 1956.

[37] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, June 19, 1956.

he accepted the offer which was to take effect in September, 1899.[38] At the time the state was under the control of a Republican governor elected by a combination of Populists and Republicans known as Fusionists, and the eastern counties, including Greene, feared that the Negro would resume the place of political prominence that he had occupied during Reconstruction. The Democrats, however, had regained control of the legislature in November, 1898. Tension was high in the east and reached a climax with the Wilmington race riot that occurred shortly after the November election.[39] Brooks, of course, was a staunch Democrat and greatly admired Furnifold M. Simmons of New Bern, the shrewd Democratic strategist in 1898.[40] However, Brooks must have sympathized with the educational program of the Fusionists which was quite forward looking.[41]

On September 4, 1899, Brooks began his new job as principal of the high school in Ormandsville, a village of forty inhabitants that possessed two mercantile establishments, a Methodist church, and a steam saw mill owned by Herbert Ormand.[42] At the Ormandsville school Miss Bessie Harding was in charge of

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[38] State School Facts [Brooks Issue], XIX (July, 1947).

[39] See William A. Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction (Durham, 1940), pp. 31-56.

[40] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[41] Edgar Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina (Boston, 1916), p. 325.

[42] North Carolina Business Directory, 1897. Edited by Levi Hanson. (Raleigh, 1897), p. 301; Kinston Free Press, September 6, 1899.

"primary work and music," while Brooks taught most of the high school classes. The school attracted students from neighboring counties, who lived with families in Ormandsville. Parents were assured that "the moral as well as the mental instruction will be strictly looked after," and that "their sons or daughters will ... meet with the same parental care in this school as at home."[43] Brooks lived with the Ormand family and participated in various community activities.[44] He undoubtedly took part in the "special crusade" initiated by the Greene County superintendent of schools to eradicate the local apathy toward education.[45] The four months that Brooks stayed in Ormandsville apparently were not marked by any extraordinary experience. But he widened his circle of friends in public education and fully enjoyed his life as a teacher in a rural community.

Much as Brooks enjoyed Ormandsville, he was always willing to accept a desirable promotion. Thus, in December, 1899, he accepted the position of principal of the Kinston Graded School.[46] Kinston then possessed one of twenty-seven such

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[43] Kinston Free Press, September 6, 1899. Also B. L. Davis to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., August 21, 1956.

[44] Mrs. E. C. Brooks to Willard Gatewood, Jr., October 24, 1956.

[45] See Biennial Report, 1899-1900, p. 112.

[46] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Kinston Graded Schools, December 20, 1899, Office of the City Superintendent of Public Education, Kinston, North Carolina.

schools in the state.[47] In contrast to the single room school with one teacher in charge of all the pupils, the graded schools, which were supported largely by local taxation or by aid from the town government, classified the children according to age and achievement with a teacher for each grade.[48] These schools formed the few bright spots in public education in North Carolina at the time. The Kinston Graded Schools, established in the same year that Brooks was elected principal, contained nine grades with a term of about eight months.[49] Brooks' record at Ormandsville which apparently impressed Kinston superintendent, L. C. Brogden, coupled with the fact that he was a "local boy" was largely responsible for his appointment. The position possessed obvious attractions for him in addition to the salary of fifty dollars per month which was a considerable increase over his former salary.[50] Moreover, he was the popular choice of the people of Kinston. The Kinston Free Press praised his work in Ormandsville and added: "The trustees, we think, made a good choice in selecting Mr. Brooks principal."[51]

Brooks assumed his duties at Kinston in January, 1900. In

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[47] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 323.

[48] Ibid.; Charles Dabney, Universal Education in the South (Chapel Hill, 1936), I, p. 189.

[49] Kinston Free Press, January 15, 1900.

[50] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Kinston Graded Schools, December 12, 1899.

[51] Kinston Free Press, December 21, 1899.

addition to his administrative work he also taught classes in English and history in the high school.[52] He was "extremely popular" with the students and the Kinston citizens. One of his students later recalled that Brooks "was the most thorough teacher who ever taught me."[53] Brooks was especially interested in improving the library facilities of the graded school and was quite successful in persuading individuals to donate books to the school library.[54] This was the first indication of what came to be his demand that libraries were necessary complements of all schools. It does not seem at all fanciful to see in his efforts for better public school libraries the influence of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, who persistently advocated the improving of library facilities at Trinity College.[55]

During Brooks' first few months in his new position Kinston, like other towns in the state, was the scene of much political activity. The central issue was the constitutional amendment submitted to the voters by the Democratic legislature of 1900. According to Charles B. Aycock, the Democratic nominee for governor, the amendment "was drawn with the deliberate purpose of depriving the negro of the right to vote, and of allowing

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[52] Ibid., April 16, 1900.

[53] Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

[54] Kinston Free Press, March 30, 1900.

[55] Tilley, Trinity College Historical Society, pp. 9-10.

every white man to retain that right."[56] The amendment required that applicants for registration must have paid the poll tax and be able to read and write any part of the constitution. It also included the "Grandfather Clause" which provided that no person who was entitled to vote on or before January 1, 1867, or the lineal descendants of such a person should be denied the right to register and vote by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications, provided that he shall have registered before December 1, 1908.[57] The Democrats coupled their pleas for the passage of the amendment with promises of a minimum four month school term for public schools in order to secure the white votes in the western counties where the Negro population was sparce.[58] Aycock pledged his full support to universal education or more specifically to "the education of every illiterate white child in North Carolina."[59] During the spring of 1900 the White Supremacy Club in Kinston, an effective propaganda agency of the Democrats in many areas of the state, voiced strong approval of the suffrage amendment and provided public speakers to discuss the superiority of "the

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[56] R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe, The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock (Garden City, 1912), p. 81.

[57] Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 59; Newsome and Lefler, North Carolina, pp. 522-23.

[58] William B. Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools: The First Century," The Duke University Centennial Conference on Teacher Training Edited by William Cartwright and William B. Hamilton (Durham, 1953), p. 10.

[59] News and Observer, May 2, 1900.

Anglo-Saxon race."[60]

There is little evidence that Brooks actively participated in these Kinston political gatherings, but it is reasonable to suppose that he fully endorsed the amendment. Not only was he a supporter of Furnifold Simmons and Charles B. Aycock, the champions of the movement, but he undoubtedly recognized the importance of this strong political motivation to the existing agitation for public schools. Within two years Brooks became associated with Aycock's efforts to fulfill his campaign pledges regarding public education. Sixteen years later, Brooks declared that "it was the suffrage amendment ... providing an educational qualification for voting and the stirring campaign of Governor Charles B. Aycock that really aroused the state to the necessity of providing an adequate public school system."[61]

Brooks resigned from his position at the Kinston Graded School before the passage of the suffrage amendment and the election of Aycock. Although the trustees had re-elected him principal, they accepted his resignation on June 30, 1900 and appointed his old friend, Allen J. Barwick, to fill the vacancy.[62] Brooks had planned to teach a summer school in Kinston

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60 See especially Kinston Free Press, February 24, 1900.

61 Eugene C. Brooks, "North Carolina's New Educational System," The South Atlantic Quarterly XVIII (October, 1919), p. 279. See also E. C. Brooks, "Charles Brantley Aycock", South Atlantic Quarterly XI (July, 1912), pp. 279-82.

62 Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Kinston Graded School, May 3, June 30, 1900.

for the benefit of those students who wished to enter college that fall, but he could hardly afford to reject the offer to become superintendent of the newly established graded schools in Monroe, North Carolina.[63] The Kinston school officials probably realized that a subordinate position in their graded school could not retain for long the services of such an able and energetic young man as Brooks. Upon his departure the Kinston Free Press was unsparing in its praise of his work and concluded: "During the short time he has been teaching in our graded school Mr. Brooks has won the confidence of our people."[64]

III

In June, 1900, the graded schools were organized in Monroe, the county seat of Union County located near the South Carolina boundary line. Two unsuccessful attempts had been previously made to pass the local tax necessary for the schools. In 1900 when the tax was finally enacted, there was still strong opposition to it.[65] Thus, the successful establishment of the Monroe schools required a man who combined intelligence and energy with abundant tact. At that time, however, there were few school men in the state who possessed the qualifications and experience necessary for the capable supervision of a graded

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[63] Kinston Free Press, June 15, 1900.

[64] Ibid., See also ibid., June 16, 1900.

[65] News and Observer, June 4, 1902.

school system. In their search for a qualified person the trustees of the Monroe schools were apparently impressed by Brooks' record and made a fortunate choice in his selection. Many years later one observer recalled that the citizens of Monroe too realized that Brooks "was the right man, at the right place, at the right time."[66]

Brooks achieved remarkable success in establishing the Monroe Graded Schools on a sound basis and in eradicating the opposition to the local tax. In his work he had the full support of the trustees whom he described as "progressive men" who recognized that "teaching is a progressive science."[67] In his attempt to establish an efficient school system Brooks encountered many perplexing problems that resulted mainly from inadequate financial resources. The Monroe Graded Schools were supported by a special poll tax of $1.20 and a special property tax of forty cents on the hundred dollar valuation of property.[68] The citizens considered this a "heavy tax" and desired to reduce the rate, but Brooks succeeded in preventing any reduc-

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[66] Mrs. Virginia N. Crowell to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., July 31, 1956. Unfortunately, there are no school records in Monroe for the period of Brooks' administration. They were destroyed by fire in 1934.

[67] News and Observer, June 4, 1902. The members of the board of trustees were Dr. S. J. Welsh (chairman), H. B. Adams, R. A. Morrow, W. S. Lee, S. H. Parham, J. C. Fletcher, A. M. Crowell, and S. O. Blair. E. C. Brooks, "Monroe Graded Schools", Sketches of Monroe and Union County Edited by A. M. Stack and R. F. Beasley. (Charlotte, 1901), p. 61.

[68] Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. 235.

tion.[69] He also managed to supplement the school income with aid from the Peabody Fund from which he received two hundred dollars in 1901.[70] A year later Brooks requested assistance from the Peabody Fund in order to carry his schools "safely over the critical period." Then, the corporate limits of the town would be extended to include "two large factories and a population of about 1500" which would mean that the tax rate could be reduced "without any serious effect" on the schools.[71]

The Monroe school system under Brooks contained a white school of ten grades and a Negro school of seven grades. Both were in session for thirty-six weeks. The total enrollment of the schools was 711 pupils, or eighty-seven per cent of the school population of the town. The average daily attendance in the white school was 356 pupils and in the Negro school 129. There were ten white teachers and two Negro teachers. The male white teachers received an average salary of $500, while the female white teachers received an average salary of $360.

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[69] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, March 11, 1902, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner), Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. Hereafter cited as S. P. I. Correspondence.

[70] T. F. Toon to E. C. Brooks, March 25, 1901, Letterbook "pp" of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Archives and History. Raleigh, North Carolina. The Peabody Fund was an educational fund established by George Peabody, a Massachusetts philanthropist. The fund was administered by a board of trustees and a general agent and was distributed to those Southern communities which demonstrated their desire for better schools by helping themselves. See Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, pp. 271-92.

[71] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, March 11, 1902, S. P. I. Correspondence.

The Negro faculty of two, later increased to three by Brooks, was paid an average salary of $213.75. The total expenditures for the first year of Brooks' administration were $11,086.14. By 1901 the Monroe Graded Schools with a total debt of $9,000 was composed of property valued at $20,000.[72]

Brooks received a salary of $1000, which was more than double his Kinston salary. In Monroe he devoted five hours per week to teaching and twenty-five hours to supervision.[73] The primary aim of his administration was to secure well trained teachers. He absolutely refused to permit an incompetent person to remain on his faculty. He promptly fired one young lady who taught the fifth grade when he became convinced that she was incapable of solving the problems in her arithmetic textbook. She was a member of a socially prominent Monroe family, and the incident created a stir. But Brooks' action was endorsed by the school trustees[74] who regarded him "as a gentleman of strict integrity."[75] At the end of his first year in Monroe Brooks realized that the salaries of his teachers were "insufficient to retain or secure the best teachers in the

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[72] Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. 234-35; Biennial Report, 1902-1904, pp. 74-5.

[73] Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. 234.

[74] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 18, 1956.

[75] John R. Welsh to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., July 4, 1956.

state."[76] Thus, he persuaded the trustees to raise these salaries and to pass a resolution that no teacher would be selected who did not have normal training or at least two years' experience in graded school work. Brooks constantly reminded the trustees that teaching required skill and previous training in order for the profession to receive "a higher consideration in the estimation of the public mind."[77]

Brooks consistently attempted to improve the organization and facilities of the graded schools. After his first year in Monroe he observed that several students, ranging from the first to the tenth grades, who failed to complete the entire work of their respective grades had to spend the next year in the same grade or pass over the work that they had not finished. Brooks persuaded the trustees to employ two assistant teachers in order to give "the delinquent students an opportunity of advancing as their ability demanded" and "the quicker students an opportunity of passing from one grade to another without being held back with the whole grade until the end of the year." This innovation proved to be quite successful.[78] Brooks also introduced music and drawing in the lower grades. He insisted that instruction in the industrial arts should form the basis of the curriculum of the Negro school. He emphasized the

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[76] Brooks, "Monroe Graded Schools", Sketches of Monroe and Union County, p. 61.

[77] Ibid., pp. 61-2.

[78] Ibid., p. 62.

necessity of an exchange of ideas among his teachers and urged that they should be informed of the latest developments in public education. It was largely for these reasons that he held twenty teachers' meetings annually.[79] He initiated in Monroe, as in Kinston, a movement for better library facilities, and at the end of his first year there the graded school library contained six hundred volumes.[80] In 1901 the city aldermen established a public library, and Brooks persuaded them to make the library a part of the graded school with the superintendent as librarian.[81] Under this plan the library received over two hundred additional books before Brooks left Monroe.[82] His activities in this direction attracted the attention of the officials of the State Literary and Historical Association, and in March, 1902 Brooks was appointed to the Committee on Libraries of the Association.[83]

Brooks' efficient administration of the graded schools coupled with his attractive personality won him a position of "high esteem" among the people of Monroe.[84] One of his students at Monroe who became a figure of national prominence later wrote: "He [Brooks] was a fine teacher and a splendid administrator

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79 Ibid., pp. 62-3; Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. 234.

80 Biennial Report, 1900-1902, p. 235.

81 News and Observer, June 4, 1902.

82 Biennial Report, 1902-1904, p. 75.

83 Alex J. Field to E. C. Brooks, March 25, 1902, Brooks Papers (DUL).

84 John R. Welsh to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., July 4, 1956.

and gave the new graded schools a good start ... I regard him as one of the greatest educational statesmen that North Carolina has produced and I shall always be grateful to him for the influence that he had on my life."[85] The same qualities that endeared Brooks to the people in Monroe were rapidly winning him a place of recognition in the educational circles of the state. In 1902 he was elected vice-president of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly,[86] the state-wide teachers' association organized in 1883.[87] In the same year his former employer, Josephus Daniels declared editorially in his influential newspaper that Brooks was "one of the most capable, successful, and cultivated educators in the state."[88]

In January, 1902 Daniels also published in the News and Observer a series of articles by Brooks on "the public school question." These articles were especially pertinent at the time in view of Governor Aycock's efforts to fulfill his campaign promises concerning public education. Brooks wrote that the chief defects of the state school system were incompetent

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85 Judge John J. Parker to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., September 15, 1956. See also Judge John J. Parker to E. C. Brooks, April 2, 1930, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

86 The Morning Post (Raleigh, North Carolina), June 14, 1902.

87 For a sketch of the early history of the Teachers' Assembly see Charles L. Smith, The History of Education in North Carolina (Washington, 1888), pp. 177-78.

88 News and Observer, January 5, 1902.

teachers, inadequate equipment, and "lazy" county superintendents all of which resulted largely from the lack of financial support. According to Brooks, much of the responsibility for insufficient school income lay with the State Supreme Court which had ruled in 1870 that public education was not a "necessary expense." His bold criticism of the court extended to the decision in the Barksdale case of 1885 which held that county commissioners could not levy a special tax in excess of the constitutional tax limitation in order to maintain the constitutional requirement of a four months school term. Brooks also severely criticized the curriculum of the schools for its failure to take into account the social and economic environment of the children. "Education should equip for service," he declared. Agriculture, the source of the state's wealth, should have a prominent place in the curriculum of North Carolina public schools. "If education makes one dissatisfied with the country," he wrote, "then the education is wrong."[89] Brooks insisted that the entire school system must be changed in order to provide an effective program of rural education, and for this, he thought, the consolidation of rural school districts into larger units was a prerequisite.[90]

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[89] News and Observer, January 12, 1902. For a discussion of the two State Supreme Court decisions discussed by Brooks see Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, pp. 247-49, 316-17.

[90] News and Observer, January 5, 19, 1902.

Shortly after the publication of these articles Brooks had occasion to discuss various aspects of public education with James Y. Joyner, the new State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Joyner was appointed to that office on February 24, 1902 following the death of T. P. Toon, an old Confederate officer who had been elected on the Democratic ticket in 1900.[91] Joyner was a native of LaGrange, a village in Lenoir County located several miles from Brooks' childhood home. He had held several positions including the superintendencies of the Lenoir County schools and the Goldsboro Graded Schools, and he was professor of English in the State Normal and Industrial College for Women at the time of his appointment as State Superintendent.[92] Several days after Joyner reached Raleigh, Brooks invited him to speak at the Monroe Graded School on the subject of consolidation of school districts. Brooks wrote: "I have been trying to interest the people around Monroe in a plan to consolidate the contiguous districts, making the Graded School the high school for the several districts, but the force is not sufficient. I believe that you can do us good."[93] Joyner was unable to go to Monroe, but he wrote Brooks: "If I can serve you

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[91] The Morning Post, February 20, 1902; Ibid., February 25, 1902.

[92] Talmage C. Johnson and Charles R. Holloman, The Story of Kinston and Lenoir County (Raleigh, 1954), pp. 241-42.

[93] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, March 11, 1902, S. P. I. Correspondence.

or your schools at anytime, command me. I shall be glad to have suggestions from you about the work in the state and to hear from you in regard to your own work."[94] Within a short time Brooks and Joyner were partners in charge of the most extraordinary educational campaign in the history of the state.

In the meantime Brooks had continued his romantic interests in the young lady whom he had met while teaching in Kernersville Academy, and during his first Christmas vacation in Monroe, on December 19, 1900, he married Miss Ida Sapp. The wedding ceremony was performed by Reverend P. F. Carroway "in the beautifully decorated parlors of Mr. H. W. Sapp." The bride, "one of the most charming young ladies" in Kernersville, was dressed in "an elegant gray traveling suit."[95] Brooks, then twenty-nine years old, was a little more than five and a half feet tall and possessed a rather rotund figure. His hairline had already begun to recede. The distinctive feature of his face was his twinkling eyes.[96] After "a two week bridal tour of Washington and other northern points," the couple returned to Monroe where Brooks resumed his duties in the Graded Schools.[97]

The vivacious young Mrs. Brooks immediately became a popular

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[94] J. Y. Joyner to N. C. Brooks, March 15, 1902, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

[95] News and Observer, December 21, 1900.

[96] This description is based on pictures of Brooks at the time and on the Medical Record of Dr. N. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 5/11/31, Duke Hospital, Durham, North Carolina.

[97] News and Observer, December 21, 1900.

figure in Monroe. She liked people and conversed fluently even with strangers. She took a great deal of pride in her husband's work and was desirous of his advancement, and undoubtedly provided him great assistance in his entire career.[98] As Brooks' speaking engagements and other appointments increased, it was his wife who "got him there."[99] Not only was she responsible for the daily preparation of food necessary for Brooks' rather excessive appetite, but also for the bountiful meals for their frequent guests. His favorite dish consisted of buttercakes and ham. She persuaded him to surrender his pipe-smoking habit only to find that he resorted to cigarettes. The increasing quantity of cigarettes that he smoked gave her reason to regret his decision about the pipe.[100]

The devoted couple remained in Monroe two and a half years after their marriage. These were happy years for them. Their first child, a girl, was born on October 12, 1901. They named her Martha Eleanor after Brooks' mother. The second child, Eugene Clyde, Jr., arrived on January 31, 1903. The youngest Brooks child, Sarah Voss, was born two years later on February 6, 1905, in Goldsboro.[101] The Brooks children seemed to have

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98 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

99 Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

100 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

101 Brooks Family Bible. (In the possession of Mrs. E. C. Brooks). For a brief biographical sketch of E. C. Brooks, Jr. see E. C. Lula and A. C. Simpson, Durham and Her People (Durham, 1955), p. 71. Note the incorrect date of his birth in this sketch.

escaped any serious illnesses except Martha who suffered a severe attack of membraneous croup.[102] Brooks, a devoted family man, took every step within his means to provide for the welfare and happiness of his wife and children. He was never personally interested in accumulating a large sum of money. He gave little attention to family finances and to the expending of his salary except an infrequent reminder to his wife about the payment of an insurance premium. Mrs. Brooks was the financial manager of the family and from the beginning of her married life shared a joint bank account with her husband.[103]

On March 10, 1903, Brooks resigned his position in Monroe in order to become an assistant to State Superintendent Joyner.[104] In this office he would receive a salary of $1000 from the state and $500 from the Southern Education Board. The trustees of the Monroe Graded Schools regretted to lose Brooks and their chairman, Dr. S. J. Welsh, attempted in vain to persuade them to match the salary of Brooks' position in the

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[102] Memorandum by Mrs. E. C. Brooks, September 30, 1956.

[103] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956, and with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[104] Monroe Journal (Monroe, North Carolina), March 17, 1903. Unfortunately, complete files of the Monroe Journal and the Monroe Enquirer for the period of Brooks' administration of the graded schools do not exist. My searches in the North Carolina State Library, the University of North Carolina Library, and the Duke University Library have uncovered only several copies of these newspapers for this period. Moreover, the Union County Library, the office of the Journal which burned in 1910, and the office of the Enquirer which burned in 1927 possess no files of these newspapers for the period mentioned above.

State Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Welsh also told the trustees that even if they managed to retain Brooks with such a salary increase, they would not be able to keep him "for long," because "he was better than a $1500 man."[105] The Monroe Journal, undoubtedly expressing the sentiment of the majority of the townspeople, declared: "It is a matter of regret that Professor Brooks is to leave Monroe. For the three years that he has been here he has shown himself to be a most competent and thorough schoolman, and ... has given Monroe a school of which she is very proud."[106] In April, 1903, Mrs. Brooks and the children moved to Kernersville for the summer months and joined Brooks in Raleigh late in August.[107]

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105 John R. Welsh to Willard S. Gatewood, Jr., July 4, 1956.

106 The Monroe Journal, March 17, 1903.

107 E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 13, 1903, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Chapter III

THE RISE OF AN EDUCATIONAL LEADER
1903-1907

I

On January 15, 1901, "immense throngs of people" gathered on the Capitol grounds in Raleigh to witness the official return to power of the Democrats in North Carolina. At noon a stately figure appeared on the flag-draped rostrum in front of the Capitol Building. Charles B. Aycock was about to deliver his inaugural address as Governor of North Carolina.[1] The address displayed his unusual skill in combining eloquence and simplicity. Launching into a denunciation of the administration of his predecessor, he emphatically declared that under the Fusionists "lawlessness stalked the State like pestilence--death

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[1] The Morning Post, (Raleigh, North Carolina) January 16, 1901.

stalked abroad at noonday." In discussing the suffrage amendment he insisted that "it does no injustice to the negro" and possessed "no taint of that inequality provided against in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."[2] The next portion of Aycock's address concerned the closely related subject of education which formed a significant plank in the Democratic platform. He reiterated his campaign pledge "to make at least a four months' term in each year in every school district in the State" and admitted that he realized the "importance of educating the white and black alike."[3] "Poor and unlettered men anxious about the privileges of their children and hesitating to vote for the Amendment," Aycock continued, "were finally persuaded to accept our promise and place their children in a position in which they can never vote unless the pledges [educational] which we made are redeemed to the fullest extent."[4] He considered an educational revival absolutely necessary in order that the children who reached the legal age after 1908 might possess the literacy requirements for voting.[5] When Governor Aycock stepped from the rostrum on that sunny January day in 1901, white supremacy was insured for at least the next eight years by the literacy qualifications for voting,

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[2] Poe and Connor, The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, pp. 229, 231-32.

[3] Ibid., pp. 232-33.

[4] Ibid., pp. 233-34.

[5] Ibid., p. 235.

the Grandfather Clause, the high percentage of illiteracy among Negroes, and the preponderance of the whites in the total population.[6]

Those who were to lead the educational revival that Aycock mentioned in his inaugural address faced a tremendous task. At that time public education was in an exceedingly backward stage. First of all, the state lacked a unified system of education or even a respectable county system. The schools were purely local in character without any uniformity of standards in course of study, textbooks, teacher qualifications, physical equipment, or grades. There were more than 8000 separate school districts each of which under the law supposedly had a school. But 800 districts had no school house at all. The average value of the property of the 7264 schools was less than $200, and 829 schools were of the crude log type, chinked with mud or clay. Many schools closed in cold weather, because they were so open that the children could not be kept warm. Most of these schools had one teacher and an average daily attendance of approximately thirty pupils. In the school year 1901-1902 there was a total school population of 674,215, including 453,807 whites and 220,408 Negroes, but the total enrollment consisted of only 314,817 white children and 149,278 Negro children. The average school term contained 82.4 days for white schools and 76.15 for Negro schools. This average in-

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[6] Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 73.

cluded the long-term schools of thirty-eight towns and eight local tax rural districts. The total value of all school property was $1,146,000, and the state and county expenditure was about $1,300,000. The average monthly salary of white teachers was $26.78 and that of the Negro teachers was $22.19. The state ranked tenth nationally in illiteracy. This rampant illiteracy included 47.6 per cent of the Negroes and 19.5 of the native whites. The amount expended per child in the schools of North Carolina was $3.17, while that for the United States as a whole was $20.29.[7]

During their fight for the suffrage amendment the Democrats had promised to rectify these appalling educational conditions. Obviously, they would concentrate their efforts upon the white schools. The Democratic legislature of 1901, however, defeated a proposal similar to the Norton Act of 1883 whereby the school fund would be divided between the races in accordance with the taxes paid by each race.[8] This same legislature made the first direct effort to equalize the burden imposed upon localities to maintain the minimum educational program required by the state. This effort resulted in an appropriation known as the second

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[7] This description is based upon the following works: P. H. Plemmons, "Extension and Equalization of Educational Opportunity in the South," Secondary Education in the South Edited by W. C. Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn, and Arnold King. (Chapel Hill, 1946), pp. 20-21; Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. 292-93, 334-35; Poe and Connor, Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, pp. 114-16; Newsome and Leffler, North Carolina, p. 503.

[8] See Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 74.

hundred thousand dollars to distinguish it from the first hundred thousand appropriated in the same act to replace the annual appropriation of $100,000, begun in 1899 which was to be distributed on the basis of school population. In order for a county to receive aid from the second hundred thousand dollars, it must have reached the constitutional limit of taxation and still not be able to maintain the four months school term. The size of this equalizing fund was set at $100,000 from 1901 until 1913.[9] The legislature of 1901 also made liberal provisions for the establishment of rural libraries. Two years later, it reorganized the old literary fund into the State Literary Fund with $200,000 to be used as a loan fund for building and improving school houses. The same legislature took steps to make the Department of Public Instruction equal in dignity and equipment to the other departments of state government.[10]

Shortly after the end of the legislature of 1901, Governor Aycock and State Superintendent T. F. Toon embarked upon a canvass of the state in the interest of the Democratic educational policy. Their object was to arouse public opinion in favor of education. But these two men could reach only a small fraction of the people, since North Carolina was a large

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9 Fred W. Morrison, Equalization of the Financial Burden of Education Among the Counties in North Carolina: A Study of the Equalizing Fund. (New York, 1925), pp. 10-11, 13.

10 Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, pp. 337-39.

rural state without centers of population. They soon realized the necessity for a general educational campaign carried out by a large number of volunteer workers. Such a campaign, however, would need considerable financial resources which the Governor did not have at his disposal.[11] Thus, by the fall of 1901 Aycock's educational policy seemed to be doomed to failure.

At this point, an outside agency, the Southern Education Board, provided the financial support that Aycock needed. The Southern Education Board, established in the winter of 1901, grew out of the Conference on Christian Education which was first held at Capon Springs, West Virginia, in 1898. This gathering, composed largely of Northern ministers, was primarily interested in Negro education in the South. After its first meeting this organization became the Conference for Education in the South, a change in name that indicated the broadened scope of its interest. The movement, under the leadership of Robert C. Ogden, a wealthy New York merchant, won the support of several important Northern philanthropists and many Southern educators. The executive committee of the Conference, called the Southern Education Board, was responsible for creating public support for schools and for handling financial gifts. Through the generous financial assistance of John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, George Foster Peabody, and others the

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[11] Poe and Connor, Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, p. 118.

Southern Education Board was able to carry out its program.[12] The Board offered to furnish funds for financing such an educational campaign as Governor Aycock considered necessary in order to remedy the poor school conditions in North Carolina. Aycock eagerly accepted the annual gift of $4000 from the Board.[13]

The official opening of the educational campaign in North Carolina was a convention in Raleigh on February 13, 1902. This gathering of forty-three educational workers representing all phases of education in the state was called at the suggestion of Dr. Charles D. McIver, the president of the State Normal and Industrial College for Women and a prominent member of the Southern Education Board. Governor Aycock presided at the meeting which convened for the purpose of organizing an educational campaign. The conference adopted an address to the people entitled, "A Declaration Against Illiteracy" which was a frank exposé of the educational conditions in the state and a plea for popular support of public schools. The conference outlined a plan of the campaign that was to be conducted under the direction of "The Central Campaign Committee for the Promotion of Public Education in North Carolina." This committee

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[12] For a history of the Conference for Education in the South see Babney, Universal Education in the South, II, Chapters I-XX. The General Education Board, inspired by the Southern Education Board, was established by Rockefeller in March, 1902. Ibid., pp. 123-24.

[13] Poe and Connor, The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, p. 119.

was composed of Aycock, McIver, and Toon, who was succeeded by James Y. Joyner as State Superintendent on February 24, 1902.[14]

II

Eugene C. Brooks, superintendent of the Monroe Graded Schools, was among those attending the Raleigh meeting in February, 1902. He participated in all three sessions of the conference, signed the "Declaration Against Illiteracy,"[15] and became a member of the committee "to request the clergy of the state to preach one sermon each year on the subject of education."[16] The aims of the educational campaign outlined at the conference were local taxation, consolidation of school districts, the improvement of school houses, and longer school terms.[17] These aims, endorsed by conferences at Greensboro and Charlotte, were almost identical to those suggested by Brooks the previous month in his series of articles in the News and Observer.[18]

The appointment of Joyner held new opportunities for Brooks. Joyner was apparently impressed by his efficient administration of the Monroe Graded Schools and by his sincere interest in

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[14] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, pp. 331-32.

[15] The Greensboro Patriot (Greensboro, North Carolina), February 26, 1902.

[16] The Morning Post, February 14, 1902.

[17] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 333.

[18] See above pp. 67-8.

public school questions. Brooks, moreover, availed himself of every occasion to cultivate Joyner's friendship and to share his progressive ideas with him.[19] It was undoubtedly through Joyner's influence that Brooks was appointed executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee for the Promotion of Public Education when the Committee opened headquarters in the State Superintendent's office in June, 1902.[20] One historian who was later intimately acquainted with Brooks wrote: "Though a young man Mr. Brooks was rapidly becoming recognized as a wise and progressive school man, and to his new work he brought rare industry, resourcefulness, sound judgment, and earnestness which were soon to place him in the foremost ranks of educational leadership in North Carolina."[21]

The educational campaign in North Carolina actually began in June, 1902. Brooks as executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee was responsible for arranging speakers for the local rallies and for the newspaper publicity. He issued bulletins from the State Superintendent's office bearing such titles as "What is Being Done for the Improvement of the Schools" and "Is It a Crime to Neglect the Education of the

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[19] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, March 11, 1902, S. P. I. Correspondence; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, March 15, 1902, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

[20] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 333.

[21] Ibid., p. 334.

Country Children." These bulletins emphasized local taxation for public schools, consolidation of rural school districts, and the improvement of school buildings.[22] Brooks occasionally issued statistical statements on school conditions to the press and wrote brief articles for newspapers. In an article in The Progressive Farmer on the consolidation of school districts he insisted that the merger of several small districts into one large district with one large school, an efficient faculty, and a longer term was more economical and provided "better instruction." He maintained that "a fourth of the schools are run contrary to law," because they were operating for less than four months a year and their districts contained less than the minimum school population required by law.[23]

Brooks' main concern, however, was to find outstanding speakers who would address rural gatherings for the purpose of persuading them to vote for local taxes and the consolidation of small school districts. He succeeded in securing a large corps of volunteer speakers that included men of every profession and business and of every political faith and religious creed.[24] The first local rally, held in Wentworth in Rockingham County, was rather typical of many others during the summer of 1902.

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[22] B. C. Brooks, What Is Being Done For The Improvement of the Schools (pamphlet); The Morning Post, July 3, 11, 26, 29, 1902; Greensboro Patriot, July 2, 1902.

[23] B. C. Brooks, "Consolidation of School Districts," The Progressive Farmer XVII (July 15, 1902), p. 7.

[24] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 334.

Through Brooks the Rockingham County officials arranged to have ex-Governor Thomas J. Jarvis and Dr. Charles D. McIver speak on the occasion. Before an audience of over 2000 people Jarvis, the "grand old man" whose face was already "turned toward the setting sun" and who would never again "solicit the suffrage of the state" for himself, implored his listeners to improve their public schools through local taxation in order to give their children a "glorious" future. Then, after a bountiful picnic and music by the Third Regiment Band from Reidsville, Dr. McIver addressed the crowd in "a plain, practical manner" on the advantages of local taxation and consolidation of districts.[25]

From his office in Raleigh Brooks organized scores of similar rallies in about thirty counties during June and July, 1902. After correspondence and conferences with county school officials and other interested persons in various sections of the state he would send speakers to address these local audiences. The successful management of this state-wide campaign was obviously no easy task, but according to Joyner, Brooks directed the entire program with skill and efficiency.[26] Within three months after Brooks completed the summer campaign fourteen rural districts had adopted local taxation by popular vote, and

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[25] Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. 380-381.

[26] Ibid., p. lxi.

elections were pending in twenty-four other districts.[27] Upon Brooks' departure for Monroe on August 10, 1902, The Morning Post declared: "Professor E. C. Brooks ... has completed his work. For nearly two months he has done efficient and valuable work in the office of the State Superintendent and has had charge of planning the educational campaign. He has collected much valuable information about the progress of the work in the various counties and given wide circulation to it through the newspapers of the State."[28]

After his return to Monroe Brooks remained in close touch with Superintendent Joyner, who sent him reports on the results of their work during the summer. Joyner insisted that their efforts had been successful and urged Brooks "to keep the ball rolling in Union" County. He also assured Brooks: "You will always be a welcome visitor in my office."[29] Brooks, moreover, conferred with Joyner about the problem of grading and classifying public schools. He had planned to discuss this question before the Association of County Superintendents of Public Schools, but he was unable to attend because of illness. At the request of the county school officials he attempted to grade and classify a school at a Union County teachers' meeting.

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27 Ibid., p. lx.

28 The Morning Post, August 10, 1902.

29 J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, October 20, 1902, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

After studying the difficulties and possible solutions to the problem, Brooks wrote Joyner:

> No grading or classifying will be practical or put into operation by the poorly informed teachers which does not deal exclusively with the texts they are required to use, regardless of what supplementary literature the expert would be glad to see them use. I believe here is where the [teachers'] institute holders made serious mistakes: by, once a year, lecturing on literature that is new to them, the teachers, instead of taking up the text that the law requires them to teach... As to grading: it seems to me that there should be some authority somewhere to say how many subjects shall be taught in each school, depending of course on the length of the term etc., and what the courses shall include. If the school has only seven grades or classes and each class has four recitations, that gives twenty-eight recitations a day--enough to tax the supreme ingenuity of an expert. Now classify according to readers. At the end of four months, the time has been insufficient for the beginner to complete the first reader and so on throughout the seven grades ... You see, to lay down a course of study is easy, to finish it is another thing.[30]

Joyner welcomed these suggestions and urged Brooks to assist him in the preparation of "a workable course of study." But he felt that there was "not much chance" to perfect a standard course of study and method of grading except through the county superintendents who in many instances were incompetent political appointees. Joyner concluded his letter to Brooks by saying: "I shall always be glad to hear from you and will appreciate any suggestions that you make ..., for I know your heart is in this great work."[31]

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[30] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 11, 1902, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[31] J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, November 19, 1902, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

In the spring of 1903, Brooks resigned his position as superintendent of the Monroe Graded Schools in order to accept Joyner's offer to become chief clerk of the department of loans, rural libraries, and course of study in the State Superintendent's office. At the same time he retained his position as executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee and managed to get an increase in salary from the Southern Education Board for this work. The combined salary of these two jobs was about $1500, which was considerably more than he was paid in Monroe.[32] Brooks wrote Joyner:

I had a talk with Dr. McIver in regard to salary. I requested him to make the status of my position as strong this year as possible, even if he made only a nominal appropriation after this year. My object in this was that my change would appear to the greatest advantage and exalt my position as much as possible; and he agreed then to add $400 to the amount allowed me by the State and if possible he would make it $500. That accounts for the newspaper reports that the position pays about $1500. You understand that the public values a man by the salary that he receives, and while publicity is being given, I prefer to go on record as a $1500 man.[33]

The trustees of the Monroe Graded Schools permitted Brooks to leave on May 1, 1903, provided he would return to "wind up the work" in the schools in June. During this month Brooks gathered information on local taxation for McIver's report to the Southern Education Board and aided Joyner in preparing the forth-

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[32] Monroe Journal, March 13, 1903.

[33] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, March 11, 1903, S. P. I. Correspondence.

coming educational campaign.[34]

The summer campaign of 1903 was more intensive than the one of the previous year. By April 13, 1903, Brooks had received so many requests for speakers at local educational rallies that he declared: "It seems the whole State is going to vote on graded schools from the letters I have been receiving."[35] The request from Duplin County insisted that the people of that area were "asleep and had been for over a hundred years, and it will require someone with a stentorian voice to arouse them."[36] The petition from Person County read: "This county needs about two Walter Pages. If you have any men of that stamp, please send them."[37] The major obstacle to local taxation in Davie County was the "apathy and indifference" of the people, while in Northampton, Robeson, and Hertford Counties it was the "Negro problem."[38]

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[34] J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, March 12, 1903; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, April 8, 1903. Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

[35] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 13, 1903, S. P. I. Correspondence. The summer educational campaign of 1903, like its predecessor, emphasized local taxation, consolidation of school districts, improvement of school houses, and longer terms.

[36] S. M. Clement to E. C. Brooks, June 25, 1903, James Y. Joyner Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

[37] N. C. Newbold to E. C. Brooks, July 11, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[38] J. E. Hodges to E. C. Brooks, July 8, 1903; P. J. Long to E. C. Brooks, July 15, 1903; R. F. Beasley to E. C. Brooks, September 9, 1903, Joyner Papers.

In order to fulfill these numerous requests Brooks enlisted the services of additional speakers, especially of college presidents.[39] Congressman Robert N. Page also consented to participate in the movement and refused to permit the Southern Education Board to pay his traveling expenses.[40] Some county boards of education refused to endorse educational rallies, because they believed, quite wrongly, that the county rather than the Southern Education Board must bear the expenses. Such misunderstandings which necessitated correction placed additional work upon Brooks.[41] The most popular speakers were Aycock, McIver and Joyner whose oratory seem to possess a magnetic appeal. The Superintendent of Martin County schools explained that these three men with their exalted reputations could arouse the people, although "the educational interest has not reached that point where the people will come out to hear a speaker through their interest in education solely."[42] It was difficult for Brooks to determine the areas in which these three men could be most effective. When he asked McIver to speak in Valdese in June, 1903, for example, McIver replied: "I am not willing in my present physical and mental condition of weariness to strain myself to go two or three hundred

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[39] E. C. Brooks to George T. Winston, August 12, 1903; F. P. Venable to E. C. Brooks, June 26, 1903; Charles Taylor to E. C. Brooks, June 24, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[40] R. N. Page to E. C. Brooks, June 22, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[41] S. R. Bateman to E. C. Brooks, August 10, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[42] R. O. Everett to E. C. Brooks, July 13, 1903, Joyner Papers.

miles simply for the entertainment of a little neighborhood gathering unless they are in earnest about voting the tax of unless there is some movement that will guarantee an effort in that direction."[43] As a result of such circumstances Brooks was forced to send other speakers to substitute for McIver, Aycock, or Joyner. The blame for a disappointing speaker usually fell upon Brooks.[44]

From May through September, 1903 Brooks both managed the publicity of the educational campaign and actively participated in some of the local rallies. He published lists of the speaking engagments in the News and Observer, The Morning Post, the Charlotte Observer, and the Asheville Citizen.[45] For the first week in July he arranged seventy-three addresses by sixteen prominent citizens; for the second week he scheduled eighty-two addresses;[46] and he periodically furnished the newspapers with statements on the progress of local taxation and consolidation.[47] He also provided propaganda literature to areas anticipating local tax campaigns and advised county

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[43] Charles D. McIver to E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[44] F. B. Rankin to E. C. Brooks, June 20, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[45] Charles D. McIver to E. C. Brooks, July 5, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[46] The Morning Post, July 4, 1903.

[47] See The Morning Post, June 28, July 14, 1903.

officials on the legal procedure of holding local tax elections.[48] In addition, he travelled over the state observing at first hand the varying educational conditions in different areas and delivered addresses on local taxation and consolidation in Craven and Union Counties.[49] He also took part in the annual meeting of the Association of County Superintendents in Raleigh where he became acquainted with school officials throughout the state.[50]

The results of the educational campaigns of 1902 and 1903 indicated that the work of Brooks, Joyner and numerous others had been successful. Eighty-eight local tax districts were established, bringing the total number to 174 in sixty-three counties. The number of school districts was decreased under consolidation by nearly four hundred, more than double the reduction in 1901-1902. More than 676 new school houses were built from 1901 until November, 1903, and the average length of the school term reached 16.7 weeks, "the high water mark in the history of the State." The average teachers' salaries also increased $1.58 per month for whites and forty-four cents

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[48] Harry Howell to E. C. Brooks, June 23, 1903; F. J. Long to E. C. Brooks, ?, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[49] P. M. Brinson to E. C. Brooks, June 12, 1903; F. C. Allen to E. C. Brooks, June 23, 1903, Joyner Papers; The Morning Post, May 2, 1903; State School Facts [Brooks Issue], XIX (July, 1947), p. 1.

[50] Proceedings of the State Association of County Superintendents, 1903 (Raleigh, 1903), p. 27.

per month for Negroes.[51] In addition to this statistical evidence, the letters of appreciation from local officials must have stirred Brooks' pride in his work. The Superintendent of Schools in Davie County, where even Joyner had failed to elicit any enthusiasm for public schools in 1902, wrote Brooks: "The speeches [in July, 1903] were fine, carrying conviction. Several representative men including old bachelors have said to me they have always opposed local taxation before hearing these men, and that now they favored it and would work for the principle."[52]

In the spring of 1904 Brooks announced that he was planning another "vigorous" educational campaign for the forthcoming summer.[53] These plans, however, were changed after Brooks consulted the Central Campaign Committee. On June 5, 1904, he announced that since the people would be preoccupied with the state and national elections during the summer months, the Committee had decided "not to wage so vigorous an educational campaign as before."[54] But Brooks prepared lists of speakers available upon request from local school officials, who desired to hold rallies.[55] The summer campaigns in behalf of

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[51] J. Y. Joyner, A Year's Progress in Public Education and the Work Yet to Be Done (Raleigh, 1903), pp. 7-10, 13.

[52] J. D. Hodges to N. C. Brooks, July--, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[53] The Morning Post, April 10, 1904.

[54] Ibid., June 5, 1904.

[55] Ibid.

public education continued for several years, but the intensity of those initial campaigns directed by Brooks was never surpassed. The efforts of Aycock, Joyner, McIver and Brooks between 1902 and 1905 started an educational movement in North Carolina that gradually integrated the school ideal in a public opinion that expressed itself in taxation and ultimately produced a reputable system of public schools.[56]

At the same time that Brooks managed the educational campaigns he carried out the duties of his permanent office in the State Department of Public Instruction. His title as chief clerk of the department of loans, rural libraries, and course of study did not mean that his work was confined to these fields. He was undoubtedly at Joyner's command and assisted with many other projects undertaken by the State Superintendent's office. For example, Brooks was responsible for the educational exhibit at the State Fair in 1903 and for the distribution of leaflets on school progress among the crowd there.[57] Apparently he relieved Joyner of many of those small, yet very necessary, tasks that confront a State Superintendent.

One important aspect of Brooks' regular duties concerned the distribution of the State Literary Fund for building and improving school houses. This fund of $200,000, created in 1903,

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[56] For a brief statement of educational progress in North Carolina from 1901 to 1910 see Newsome and Lefler, North Carolina, p. 552.

[57] The Morning Post, October 21, 1903.

was derived from the sale of swamp lands owned by the State Board of Education. Loans from this fund were made to the county boards of education, payable in ten annual installments, bearing interest at four per cent. Under the rules for the distribution of the State Literary Fund only one half of the cost of the new school houses or the improvement of the old houses was lent to any county, and no loans were made to districts with less than sixty-five children of school age unless such districts contained unusually sparse population or insurmountable natural barriers. In the distribution of the fund Brooks was instructed to give preference to rural districts, to large districts formed by consolidation, and to districts with local taxation.[58]

As soon as the legislature of 1903 established the State Literary Fund the counties began to request loans. The numerous inquiries that Joyner received during March was one of the reasons for his insistence that Brooks leave Monroe by May 1.[59] Shortly after Brooks went to Raleigh he was flooded with applications for loans, but the inadequate reports submitted by many counties necessarily delayed the distribu-

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[58] Biennial Report, 1902-1904, pp. 16-8; The Morning Post, June 2, 1903.

[59] J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, March 12, 1903; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, April 14, 1903, Joyner Papers.

tion of the fund.[60] Brooks announced that the apportionment of the loans would begin on July 15, 1903, in order that the local school officials might build and improve their school houses during the summer.[61] Within eighteen months Brooks had lent $120,500 to seventy counties to build 228 new school houses. The amounts of these loans to individual school districts varied from thirty dollars to the Lovelace district in Wilkes County to $5000 to Randleman in Randolph County.[62]

Brooks' work also included supervision of the school houses constructed or improved through aid from the State Literary Fund. In order to receive a loan, the local districts had to agree to build schools, which had to cost at least $250, in accordance with plans approved by the State Department of Public Instruction. Brooks was responsible for insuring the execution of these regulations. His efforts to promote the construction of school houses according to "principles of modern school architecture" apparently were successful. In 1904 Joyner reported: "In nothing has progress been more marked than in the character of public schoolhouses."[63] Brooks also

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[60] The Morning Post, May 26, 1903. Whenever Joyner received correspondence concerning the State Literary Fund, he wrote on it "to Brooks" and apparently transferred it to him. See for examples John Ferrell to J. Y. Joyner, September 17, 1903; W. H. Albright to J. Y. Joyner, June 5, 1904, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[61] The Morning Post, July 11, 1903.

[62] Biennial Report, 1902-1904, pp. 19, 568-70.

[63] Ibid., pp. 20-2; The Morning Post, June 2, 1903.

worked closely with the Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses and Grounds which was organized at the State Normal and Industrial College in 1902. The purpose of the organization was to arouse public opinion in favor of better school buildings and to issue estimates of the costs of constructing and improving schools. Brooks represented the State Department of Public Instruction at the meeting of the association in 1903 and participated in the discussions on school house construction. He considered the organization a distinct aid to him in supervising the school building program over the state.[64]

In June, 1903 Brooks attended the meeting of the Teachers' Assembly at Wrightsville Beach. In addition to being a vice-president of the Assembly, he served on the Committee on Legislation and the Committee on Course Correlation both of which were of considerable importance.[65] Brooks delivered an address entitled, "School House Building," which demonstrated his ability to attain a certain eloquence even when speaking about architectural principles. He urged county officials to plan their school buildings with a view toward "the preservation of the health and that which pertains to the moral and aesthetic

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[64] The Morning Post, May 7, 1903; E. C. Brooks, "Women Improving School Houses," World's Work XII (September, 1906), pp. 7937-38. See also R. D. W. Connor, The Women's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina (Raleigh, 1906), pp. 1-44.

[65] Program of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, 1903; The Morning Post, June 13, 1903.

growth of the child." He then outlined in detail the plans for such a school. "I hold it as a fundamental truth," he concluded, "that no child should be taught in any building that is less decent than his home."[66] Commenting on the Teachers' Assembly, Charles L. Coon, a rising young public school official, wrote Brooks: "I did not go to Wrightsville because I did not have time. I hear that you had a 'bum' meeting even if you did 'orate' yourself... It does look to me like North Carolina teachers ought to do something instead of pottering around like they have for the last ten years."[67] Brooks was to encounter the caustic comments of his friend Charles Coon on several important occasions in future years.

The second part of Brooks' work in the State Department of Public Instruction concerned rural libraries. He had previously demonstrated his interest in libraries by his activities in Kinston and Monroe. In 1901 the legislature appropriated $5000 to encourage the establishment of libraries in rural schools. According to this measure, when "friends" had raised ten dollars, the county board of education contributed ten dollars, and the state would then add another ten which made a total of thirty dollars to start a small library.[68] Brooks

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[66] Eugene C. Brooks, "School House Building," Brooks Papers (DUL).

[67] Charles L. Coon to E. C. Brooks, June 16, 1903, Joyner Papers.

[68] Biennial Report, 1900-1902, pp. 198-200. For an explanation of the Textbook Commission created by the Legislature of 1901 see ibid., pp. 5-13.

was in charge of distributing the state funds for this purpose and of compiling lists of appropriate books for rural school libraries. In selecting these books he secured the advice of Professor Edwin Mims of Trinity College, who had taught him American Literature.[69] For those schools just starting libraries Brooks compiled a list of eighty-four books, annotated and classified according to school grades, which could be purchased for thirty dollars. Another list of thirty-six volumes, called the "fifteen dollar supplementary library," was designed for existing libraries that intended to expand their facilities under the legislative act of 1901.[70] Brooks also published a pamphlet in which he suggested to the teachers several ways to use a library effectively.[71] He was responsible in part for the success of the rural library movement between 1902 and 1904. During this period 410 libraries with 50,675 volumes were established in rural schools, bringing the total number in the state to 877.[72]

Closely related to Brooks' official activity for the improvement of public school libraries was his private interest

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69 Edwin Mims to E. C. Brooks, June 18, 1903, Joyner Papers.

70 E. C. Brooks, Thirty Dollar Library: Selected and Graded (Pamphlet); E. C. Brooks, A Fifteen Dollar Supplementary Library (Pamphlet).

71 E. C. Brooks, Suggestions As to the Use of the Library in School (Pamphlet). See also The Morning Post, September 30, 1904.

72 Biennial Report, 1902-1904, pp. 6, 24.

in that direction. He had become a member of the Library Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association in 1902, a body that continued to attract his attention.[73] A year later, he joined a group of prominent Raleigh citizens who were interested in North Carolina history. In December, 1903, they formed the North Carolina History Club with Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes as president and Brooks as secretary. Other members included Clarence Poe, editor of The Progressive Farmer; George T. Winston, president of North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; and M.G. Connor, Justice of the State Supreme Court. These men attempted to organize similar clubs in other cities in the state.[74] They also assisted the Department of Public Instruction in the preparation of literature to be used in the celebration of "North Carolina Day" in the public schools, a day for the consideration of state history authorized by the Legislature of 1901. The purpose of these annual programs was to arouse pride in the history of the state and to inspire confidence in its future.[75]

The third aspect of Brooks' official duties in the Department of Public Instruction related to the course of study in public schools. In 1902 Brooks had discussed with Joyner the problem of adjusting the course of study to the length of the

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[73] Alex J. Field to E. C. Brooks, March 25, 1902, Brooks Papers (DUL); The Goldsboro Daily Argus (Goldsboro, North Carolina), April 27, 1906.

[74] W. J. Peele to E. C. Brooks, November 24, 1903, Brooks Papers (DUL); The Morning Post, December 19, 1903.

[75] Biennial Report, 1902-1904, pp. 15, 196-97.

school term and to the textbooks required by law. The course of study for the first seven grades prepared by Brooks and Charles L. Coon in 1904 sought to harmonize these factors. The authors emphasized the close correlation between the mechanics of reading, literature, and spelling taught in the first three grades and between geography, nature study, and formal history, which were to begin in the fourth grade. Their outline of a course of study included the state-adopted textbooks according to grades, books for teachers, and suggestions for daily programs in a seven-grade school with one teacher. Superintendent Joyner strongly recommended this course of study for adoption by every county board of education.[74]

In November, 1903, Brooks explained his ideas on the course of study before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States. This organization, established in 1895, was dedicated to the cause of raising educational standards among the colleges and secondary schools in the South. The guiding genius of the crusade was Chancellor James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt University.[75] The ninth annual session of the association met at Trinity College on November 4-6, 1903. Brooks, listed on the program as the "Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina", addressed

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[74] E. C. Brooks and Charles L. Coon, Elementary Course of Study. Introduction by J. Y. Joyner. (Raleigh, North Carolina), pp. 1-24.

[75] See Edwin Mims, Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt (Nashville, 1940), pp. 128-59.

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this gathering of distinguished Southern educators on "Rural High Schools in the South." He insisted that most of the high schools in the South were little more than "four years of interregnum" between elementary school and college "in which time the imagination of the teacher may run riot, inject anything under the sun that is not offensive to the patrons, and omit whatever his or her lagging spirit finds undesirable."[76] Brooks believed that this situation resulted largely from the lack of any clearly defined course of study. Since each school was "practically a law unto itself," it was impossible for any Southern state to have a uniform course of study supervised and enforced by a single authority. Nevertheless, he thought that the high school curriculum should include instruction in "practical," as well as the "purely intellectual," subjects. Emphasizing the fact that eighty per cent of the public high schools in the South were rural, Brooks insisted that their courses of study should be geared to the needs of a rural people and should devote especial attention to agriculture.[77]

The fifteen months which Brooks spent in the State Department of Public Instruction contributed greatly to his rise to prominence. It provided him an opportunity to view the educational system of the state from a peculiar vantage point and

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[76] Eugene C. Brooks, "Rural High Schools in the South," Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States (Nashville, 1904), p. 102.

[77] Ibid., pp. 106-108.

to gain experience in handling administrative problems. His travels over the state as executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee afforded him a first hand knowledge of the school conditions in the various areas. As the representative of the State Department of Public Instruction, Brooks became identified with and participated in the activities of several influential educational organizations. Moreover, he became acquainted with local school officials in all parts of the state and with prominent citizens in many other professions. Above all, he gained the enduring respect and admiration of James Y. Joyner--a valuable asset for future years.

III

On September 26, 1904, the Board of Trustees of the Goldsboro Graded Schools accepted the resignation of their superintendent, Thomas R. Foust, who became head of the Guilford County schools.[78] The next day Brooks applied for the office vacated by Foust.[79] The Goldsboro position carried a great deal of prestige in addition to its salary of $1500. It was among the first graded schools established in North Carolina

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[78] The Goldsboro Daily Argus, September 27, 1904. The official records of the Goldsboro Graded Schools for the period of Brooks' administration were destroyed or, at any rate, can not be located. Ray Armstrong to Willard Gatewood, Jr., November 2, 1955.

[79] E. C. Brooks to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, September 27, 1904, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

and had become one of the model city school systems in the state by 1904. The Goldsboro schools had been developed and expanded by a succession of energetic men including Edwin Alderman, later president of three Southern universities; P. P. Claxton, the United States Commissioner of Education; and James Y. Joyner.[80] Brooks undoubtedly considered the superintendency of the Goldsboro Graded Schools a definite promotion over his present job.

At the same time that Brooks filed his application for the position several influential officials strongly recommended his appointment. Governor Aycock, a former trustee of the Goldsboro schools, wrote the Board of Trustees: "I know Mr. Brooks well and can say that he is an excellent man in every way and in my opinion well qualified for the position of Superintendent."[81] In a similar vein Joyner praised Brooks' work and expressed regret in losing his "valuable services", but concluded: "My knowledge of Mr. Brooks and of his work warrant me in recommending him with confidence as one of the best equipped men for the work of a successful superintendent of schools that I know."[82] Nothing, however, surpassed the "un-

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[80] Biennial Report, 1904-1906, pp. 71, 77; Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 313; Poe and Connor, Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, pp. 112-14.

[81] Charles B. Aycock to Col. A. C. Davis, September 27, 1904, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[82] J. Y. Joyner to the Board of Trustees of the Goldsboro Graded Schools, September 27, 1904, Brooks Papers (DUL).

qualified endorsement" expressed by the trustees of the Monroe Graded Schools who described Brooks as "a man in every way qualified to discharge the duties of a superintendent."[83] Other letters of recommendation lauded Brooks' executive ability and personal character.[84]

Brooks was appointed Superintendent of the Goldsboro schools early in October, 1904, and was succeeded in the Department of Public Instruction by R. D. W. Connor, principal of the Wilmington Graded School.[85] After moving his family to Goldsboro on November 1, Brooks wrote Joyner: "I wish to take this opportunity to express again my appreciation because you let me come to Raleigh and because you assisted me in leaving."[86] Brooks assumed the direction of the Goldsboro Graded Schools shortly after his appointment.[87] This school system included twenty-two white teachers and nine Negro teachers. Nearly three-

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[83] H. B. Adams to the Board of Trustees of the Goldsboro Graded Schools, September 27, 1904, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[84] See J. I. Foust to E. B. Borden, September 27, 1904; Charles D. McIver to E. B. Borden, September 27, 1904, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[85] R. D. W. Connor to J. Y. Joyner, October 5, 1904, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[86] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 2, 1904, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[87] Joyner regretted the severance of his "most cordial relations" with Brooks as well as the loss of his "faithful and valuable" work. "Knowing your deep and sincere interest in the education of all the people," Joyner wrote Brooks, "I shall not hesitate to call upon you whenever it shall appear that you can serve the cause." See J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, November 3, 1904, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

fourths of the white teachers possessed college diplomas and normal training. There were four school buildings for whites and one for Negroes with a total value of $66,000.[88] The schools were scheduled to open on October 10, 1904, but a diptheria epidemic caused a postponement of two weeks. As a result of this delay the schools operated only 149 days in 1904-1905, an unusually short term for Goldsboro.[89] Otherwise, Brooks' first year in Goldsboro seemed to have been a successful one. During the year he used part of the school fund of $19,677.81 for repairing school property, holding teacher institutes, and taking a school census. The enrollment of the white schools was 1008 pupils with an average daily attendance of 707, while the enrollment of the Negro school was 636 with an average daily attendance of 277.[90] The schools closed on May 18, 1905, and Mr. J. D. Carlyle of Wake Forest College was the commencement speaker at the white graded school. According to the Goldsboro Argus, "Mr. E. C. Brooks, the very efficient, popular and lovable superintendent, delivered the prizes and diplomas."[91] From this date until Brooks left Goldsboro the Argus fully endorsed his work and always described him in superlatives.

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88 Biennial Report, 1904-1906, pp. 123, 131, 152, 176, 183.

89 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, October 10, 24, 1904; June 1, 1905.

90 Biennial Report, 1904-1906, pp. 71, 77, 103.

91 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, May 19, 1905.

During the summer of 1905 Brooks conducted several teachers' institutes in the vicinity of Goldsboro, while Mrs. Brooks and the children were in Kernersville.[92] These summer institutes provided instruction for several weeks for teachers in service who were unable to attend one of the summer normal schools. The purpose of the institutes was to raise the qualifications of North Carolina teachers. In addition to his institute work Brooks joined the local tax campaign conducted by the Central Campaign Committee under executive secretary R. D. W. Connor.[93] He first addressed a large crowd at Ebenezer in Wayne County. The Goldsboro Argus declared that Brooks was "an interesting and entertaining speaker using the castaway of logic in argument and the acume of ornateness in diction ... and those who do not let prejudice overrule their judgment will be benefitted by having heard him."[94] Other speaking engagements took him as far away as Fair Bluff in Columbus County.[95]

In 1905, the Goldsboro schools opened on September 11. In the high school Brooks had added courses in domestic science

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92 Ibid., June 4, 1905.

93 John Duckett to B. C. Brooks, August 5, 1905, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

94 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, May 11, 1905.

95 R. D. W. Connor to B. C. Brooks, November 2, 1905, Letterbook of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Joyner).

and vocal music.[96] He had reorganized the high school curriculum to provide two courses of study from grades seven through ten--" one leading to college and the other leading to a more practical life." His objective here was "to make the course of study in the high school broad enough to attract every child of school age."[97] During his second year at Goldsboro Brooks employed three additional white teachers and spent $200 for libraries, four times the amount spent his first year. The teachers also received a considerable increase in their salaries.[98] In 1905 he personally interviewed each new student and gave him "an admission card" and required him to have been vaccinated.[99] At the beginning of the second semester in January, 1906, seventy new students enrolled in the graded schools bringing the total enrollment well above that for 1904-1905.[100]

The improvements in the Goldsboro Graded Schools under Brooks attracted the attention of other school men. Professor N. W. Walker of the University of North Carolina toured the

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[96] Brooks persuaded the new domestic science teacher, Miss Nellie Cobb, to give free lessons to the ladies of Goldsboro in "plain, fancy, and chafing dish cookery." The Goldsboro Daily Argus, November 18, 1905.

[97] E. C. Brooks, "Our Public School," The Goldsboro Daily Argus, June 1, 1905.

[98] Biennial Report, 1904-1906, pp. 192, 202, 217.

[99] The Goldsboro Daily Argus, August 29, 1905.

[100] Ibid., January 2, 1906.

schools and was pleased with Brooks' work.[101] William Underhill, principal of the Kinston Graded School, also inspected the schools and "was much impressed by the up-to-date methods used."[102] In May, 1906, the Goldsboro Argus reviewed Brooks work and concluded: "The Goldsboro Graded School is recognized as one of the foremost schools in the state and we have cause to be proud of the work of this noble institution ... Professor Brooks is an able, competent, and successful superintendent and he has as able a corps of teachers as can be found in the state."[103] The solid foundation of the Goldsboro schools laid by the previous superintendents, the rather liberal financial resources, and the support of a favorable public opinion enabled Brooks to practice his educational ideas in a way that would not have been possible elsewhere.

The year 1905-1906 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Goldsboro Graded Schools. Brooks hoped to have present at the graduation exercises all former superintendents, but only J. Y. Joyner and J. I. Foust were able to attend. However, former Governor Aycock, again a trustee of the graded schools, presented an eloquent address on "The Trustees and the Teacher" to the crowd gathered in the

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101 Ibid., November 9, 1905.

102 Ibid., November 8, 9, 1905.

103 Ibid., May 14, 1906.

Messenger Opera House.[104] In his brief remarks Brooks indicated the chief accomplishments of his administration, noting specifically the increase in teachers' salaries and the instruction in "the practical subjects."[105] The ceremonies concluding with Brooks awarding diplomas to a graduating class composed solely of girls.[106]

Shortly afterward, Brooks resumed his summer educational work. Mrs. Brooks and the children again spent the summer in Kernersville in order to escape the excessive heat of the coastal plains.[107] Brooks visited his parents in Grifton for several days, then traveled to Raleigh to attend the Teachers' Assembly. For the following several weeks he delivered a series of lectures to the summer school for teachers at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Shortly before returning to Goldsboro early in July, he declared that this was "by long odds the most successful summer school ever held in the state."[108] For the remainder of the summer he probably conducted teachers' institutes.

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[104] Edwin Alderman to E. C. Brooks, May 4, 1906; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, May 14, 1906, Brooks Papers (DUL); The Goldsboro Daily Argus, May 19, 1906.

[105] E. C. Brooks, Address delivered at the 25th anniversary of the Goldsboro Graded Schools, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[106] The Goldsboro Daily Argus, May 19, 1906.

[107] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956; The Goldsboro Daily Argus, June 20, 1906.

[108] The Raleigh Times (Raleigh, North Carolina), July 3, 1906; The Goldsboro Daily Argus, June 20, 1906.

With the opening of the schools on September 10, 1906, Brooks again personally examined each new student and placed him in a certain grade.[109] He also introduced an innovation in the schools by establishing a book rental system. Under this plan students could rent books for small fees ranging from eighty cents for the lower grades to $2.50 for the two highest grades.[110] The school year 1906-1907 witnessed a noticeable increase in the average daily attendance and an additional raise in teachers' salaries. The school fund at Brooks' disposal that year was almost $3000 more than that for 1904-1905.[111] This of course enabled him to raise salaries and to establish a book rental system. Apparently Brooks never permitted his numerous administrative duties to interfere with his personal interest in and supervision of teaching and classroom problems. One teacher later said of Brooks: "He had a sympathetic approach to the everyday problems, and he had a delightful way of making a teacher eager to do the best possible work. He seemed to know just what guidance and direction the individual teacher needed."[112]

While in Goldsboro Brooks participated in local civic affairs and at the same time continued his activities in state organiza-

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109 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, September 18, 1906.

110 Ibid., September 3, 1906.

111 Biennial Report, 1906-1908, pp. 14, 26, 42, 66.

112 Memorandum by Mrs. Clarence E. Wilkins, July 5, 1956.

tions. He was a frequent speaker before the several historical clubs in the town and shared with them the "stories and legends of North Carolina history which he knew so well."[113] He was also deeply interested in the existing agitation over the liquor question and contributed liberally to a fund "to enforce prohibition."[114] He conducted the work of the Child Study Department of the Goldsboro Woman's Club, and presented a series of lectures to the Wayne County Teachers' Association.[115] In 1906 Brooks was elected a trustee of the Reformatory of the South, an organization that proposed to erect reformatories to accommodate one thousand children at a cost of $500,000.[116] Later in the same year he was selected editor of the new teachers' magazine called The North Carolina Journal of Education.[117] He played an "influential" role in the establishment of the Association of City Public School Superintendents which was organized in 1904,[118] and was scheduled to lead the discussion on "Reading" at its annual meeting the following year.[119]

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113 Ibid.

114 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, November 8, 1905.

115 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, January 9, 1906; February 12, 1906.

116 The Goldsboro Daily Argus, April 19, 1906.

117 See below Chapter V.

118 J. Y. Joyner to Robert Ogden, November 22, 1907, Joyner Papers.

119 Proceedings of the North Carolina Association of City Public School Superintendents, 1905 (Raleigh, 1905), p. 8.

In December, 1904, Brooks received his first appointment to an important national group, the Committee of Eight on History in the Elementary Schools. This committee had arisen out of a discussion at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1904, in which a conference on history in elementary schools was conducted by Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University. Several persons read papers indicating approaches to the problem. Professor John B. McMaster's suggestion to emphasize "facts" in the lower grades aroused "radical" opposition from other members. It was generally agreed, however, that the elementary schools should contain "a wide and substantial course in American history." Upon the request of the conference the Executive Council of the Association appointed a committee of eight persons to recommend a history course for the elementary schools. The Council appointed: J. A. James (chairman); Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University; Eugene C. Brooks, Superintendent of the Goldsboro Graded Schools; Miss Mabel Hill of the Lowell (Massachusetts) Normal School; Julius Sachs of Teachers' College, Columbia University; Wilbur F. Gordy, Superintendent of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Schools; J. H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of the Baltimore City Schools; and Henry Thurston of the Cook County (Illinois) Normal School. The committee was composed of historians, normal school professors, and public school officials, all of whom had manifested some interest in

elementary school history.[120] Brooks, apparently the Southern representative,[121] had recently published (with Charles Coon) a course of study for the elementary schools in which a prominent place was given to history.

The appointing of a national committee to study a particular phase of the school curriculum was by no means an innovation in 1904. The practice had been employed for some years by the National Education Association and the American Historical Association, and the reports of these committees had, in some instances, wielded a great influence over the program of studies in the public schools. In 1896 the American Historical Association created the Committee of Seven which prepared a course in history for secondary schools.[122] According to one authority, it was not until after 1900 that the forces aroused by the economic revolution of the nineteenth century began to seek means to equip the individual for the complex responsibilities of his social relationships. Citizenship became the keynote of the period, and history gained in popularity as particularly adapted to impart the right social attitude.

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120 Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1904 (Washington, 1905), pp. 28-30, 55. Hereafter cited as Annual Report of A. H. A.

121 Committee of Eight, The Study of History in the Elementary Schools: Report to the American Historical Association (New York, 1909), p. v.

122 For a brief description of these national committees see Henry Johnson, Teaching of History in the Elementary and Secondary Schools (New York, 1930), pp. 141-45.

An international viewpoint was encouraged, since the United States was a rising world power. Thus, against this background the Committee of Eight embarked upon its project to revise the history curriculum of the elementary schools.[123]

Brooks and the other members of the Committee held five meetings, sent out enquiries to officials in "typical" schools, and consulted elementary teachers.[124] Reports from the Committee were read at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association in 1905 and 1906.[125] The complete report, published in 1909, stated: "Fundamentally our plan is based on the proposition that the history teaching in the elementary schools should be focused around American History. But we do not mean to imply that American History signifies an account of events alone that have occurred in America. Our aim is to explain the America of today, its civilization, its institutions, and its traditions."[126] The European background to American history was to receive especial attention in grades six through eight. The Committee of Eight insisted that its course took

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123 Bessie Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States (New York, 1926), pp. 43-44.

124 Committee of Eight, The Study of History in the Elementary Schools, p. ix.

125 Annual Report of the A. H. A., 1905 (Washington, 1906), 2 vols., I, pp. 22-3; Annual Report of the A. H. A., 1906 (Washington, 1908), 2 vols., I, pp. 63-6; Committee of Eight, Provisional Report on A Course of Study in History (Washington, 1906), pp. 1-39.

126 Committee of Eight, The Study of History in the Elementary Schools, p. x.

into consideration "the demands of the hour" and the "capacities of teachers." Recognizing the needs of teachers, the Committee included in its report a full syllabus for an eight year course in history with reference books and modes of treatment.[127] The work of the Committee revolutionized the courses of history in many elementary schools in the United States.

Brooks resigned his position in Goldsboro two years prior to the publication of the Committee of Eight report in 1909, and accepted the professorship in education at Trinity College. His administration of the Goldsboro Graded Schools for three years was especially marked by higher teachers' salaries, expanded library facilities, a reorganized course of study, and an increase in the average daily attendance. His efficient operation of the schools coupled with his interest in community affairs made him popular with the citizens of Goldsboro.[128] Five years after his departure from the city, he was again offered the superintendency of the graded schools. One trustee wrote him in 1912: "It is the unanimous opinion of our people, especially of the members of the Board who were serving when you were here, that your administration of our schools was the most successful we had ever had."[129] This statement by a

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[127] Ibid., p. 98-99. For a brief outline of the history course for eight grades suggested by the Committee of Eight see Johnson, The Teaching of History, p. 155.

[128] Memorandum by Mrs. Clarence Wilkins, July 5, 1956.

[129] George C. Royall to E. C. Brooks, March 29, 1912, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

friend and former employer who was undoubtedly aware of Brooks' aversion to idle flattery may be accepted as a genuine tribute to his record as superintendent of the Goldsboro Graded Schools from 1904 to 1907.

Chapter IV

THE COLLEGE PROFESSOR, 1907-1919

I

In the spring of 1907 Brooks was requested to establish and head a department of education at Trinity College. To explain this offer is by no means simple, considering the immediate past history of the college and the paucity of specific evidence available. Perhaps a partial explanation lay with that paradoxical figure, John C. Kilgo, President of Trinity College.

When Kilgo became president of the college in 1894, the battle between the state and denominational colleges in North Carolina was entering its fiercest stage.[1] He joined the Baptists in

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[1] For a treatment of the struggle between the denominational and state college between 1895 and 1900 see Luther L. Gobbel, Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina Since

their fight against free tuition at state-supported colleges, especially the University of North Carolina. He stumped the state in behalf of Christian education which of course was to be secured from denominational, but not sectarian, schools. He insisted that all taxes available for education should go to the public schools rather than to state institutions of higher learning. Some considered his support of the legislative appropriation of $100,000 in 1899 to lengthen the public school term as an act inimical to the University. Nevertheless, Kilgo also persuaded the Trinity College trustees to endorse resolutions favoring the "free public schools" and raising the college's admission requirements which naturally affected the high schools of the state. Moreover, a third of the Trinity graduates between 1894 and 1900 went into teaching, although the college offered no formal technical training for teachers.[2] Kilgo later insisted that "the chief forces" behind the educational revival in North Carolina at the turn of the century were the religious denominations. His biographer adds that Aycock's educational program probably could not have been pressed so rapidly, if Kilgo had not been

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1776 (Durham, 1938), pp. 132-171. The milder struggles in 1881 and 1885 are discussed in my "Some Phases of Public Education in North Carolina, 1876-1890," (Unpublished paper, 1955).

[2] Paul Neff Garber, John Carlisle Kilgo: President of Trinity College, 1894-1910 (Durham, 1937), pp. 47, 54-62; Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," pp. 8-9; W. T. Laprade, "The Administration of President Kilgo," The Trinity Alumni Register VIII (April, 1922), pp. 5-13.

preaching the cause of education in practically every part of North Carolina since 1895.[3] A part of the paradox of Kilgo was that he could retain "a skeptical and grudging attitude toward the public schools long after they had proved their usefulness," and at the same time contribute "a more practical and fundamental assistance to the rise of public education than all the efforts of all the members of Trinity College before him."[4]

Shortly after the opening of the twentieth century the denominational and state colleges reached a modus vivendi, and the public schools gradually improved under the impetus of increasing financial support.[5] The legislature of 1907 authorized the establishment of rural high schools and appropriated $45,000 annually for their maintenance.[6] The growth of public schools naturally increased the demand for teachers, therefore the state expanded its normal schools at Cullowhee and Boone and established a new one in Greenville in 1907.[7]

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[3] Garber, John C. Kilgo, p. 82. Kilgo's friend, Josiah W. Bailey declared that his paper, The Biblical Recorder (the official organ of the State Baptist Convention) had "borne the burden of the fight for Christian education and the voluntary principle in North Carolina." Bailey also insisted that he had "called the citizens of the state to the standard of free schools." J. W. Bailey to Mr. Charles Taylor, August 2, 1901, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke University Library.

[4] Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 8.

[5] Cobbel, Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina, pp. 205-9.

[6] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 340.

[7] Ibid., pp. 321, 340.

President Kilgo undoubtedly saw in this situation possibilities for Trinity College. The high school law and the other educational legislation arising from the Aycock campaign not only created a need for the training of public school teachers, but would eventually remove the utility of such college-affiliated schools as Trinity Park High School. Without doubt these factors played a significant part in Kilgo's decision to set up a department of education at Trinity College.

Late in the spring of 1907 Kilgo wrote Brooks requesting advice on the establishment of such a department and strongly suggesting him as a candidate for the new professorship. The reasons for his selection of Brooks can only be surmised. Brooks was a Trinity alumnus and had retained a close contact with his alma mater especially through annual alumni gatherings.[8] Moreover, his job in the State Department of Public Instruction and in Aycock's educational campaign, his experience as a teacher, principal, and superintendent in both rural and urban schools, and his work with teachers' institutes eminently qualified him for the new task at Trinity College, although he had not been educated in a teachers' college. On May 27, 1907, Brooks wrote Kilgo:

I believe if Trinity College takes this move, and she will sooner or later, that it will be the most important step taken by this institution since it moved from Randolph County. The

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[8] Kinston Free Press, June 7, 1900.

work apeals to me very strongly, in fact it is the kind of work that I have been planning since I entered the teaching profession.

If you think it probable that this department will be established and that my name will be considered favorably in connection with it, I would like to come to Durham and talk with you about the matter. At the outset this Department should be made equal in rank with any department in the institution. As to salary, it would I fear be impossible for me to consider a position on the terms mentioned in your letter. I tried for two years to live on that salary and found it impossible to do so. I mention that because if it is not possible to begin with $2000 I could not consider the proposition. This is what my position here is paying me and I find at the end of each year, even on that salary, I am not becoming a plutocrat or a bloated bond holder.[9]

Evidently Brooks and Kilgo had not discussed the matter prior to this exchange of letters. Kilgo's offer "came right out of a clear sky," according to Mrs. Brooks who was glad to move to Durham in order to be nearer her parents' home and out of the summer heat of Goldsboro.[10] Apparently, the question of salary was settled satisfactorily,[11] for Brooks was appointed to the newly established Chair of the History and Science of Education on June 4, 1907.[12]

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[9] E. C. Brooks to John C. Kilgo, May 27, 1907, Trinity College Papers.

[10] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

[11] By 1913 Brooks was receiving a salary of $2500 per year. Schedule of Salaries, 1913-15, Few Papers.

[12] North Carolina Christian Advocate LII (June 13, 1907), p. 5. The Advocate declared: "Mr. Brooks is one of the most active and proficient men engaged in public educational work in the state.... He is a man of strength, a leader in educational work in the state, an attractive and fluent speaker, and it is believed that he will do a great work in his new position." Ibid.

Brooks purchased a lot in Durham near the college and built a house there which meant that he bore a considerable financial burden for several years.[13] He had a room in his new house set aside solely for his own study, and he usually spent several hours there each night. After his son Gene entered the Durham Public Schools, Brooks required him to come into this study to prepare his assignments. A bond of mutual confidence and intimacy always existed between him and his son. But when Gene rushed through his lessons too quickly, Brooks would give him a book to read. The boy soon decided that there was no need to hurry. Brooks also brought "dull" college students to the study in his home to work alongside him and his son in order that he might give them special assistance.[14]

In the meantime Brooks established the department of education at Trinity College. According to the college catalogue, the purpose of the department was: "(1) to develop a greater appreciation of the school as an institution in the history of mankind; (2) to acquaint the student with the status of primary and secondary education of the present day; (3) to impart a knowledge of educational psychology and methods of teaching;

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[13] Interview with Mr. B. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956. The house was completed by December 11, 1907, and Mrs. Brooks and the children moved to Durham shortly thereafter. Brooks in the meantime had lived with Dean William P. Few. See The Trinity Chronicle (the Trinity College newspaper), December 11, 1907.

[14] Interview with Mr. B. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

(4) to acquaint the students with the conditions and needs in North Carolina."[15] For those students who desired to elect the course in education Brooks recommended that they take Professor William K. Boyd's Medieval Europe, Professor W. I. Cranford's General Psychology, and Professor W. H. Glasson's Social Institutions. These he considered necessary for a "full understanding of the influence of educational systems and methods in the development of our institutional life."[16]

In 1907-1908 Brooks offered three courses in education. According to the catalogue, the history of education, taught three hours per week, emphasized the purpose and effect of education from ancient Greece to the present. In this course Brooks was particularly concerned with the development of educational thought, the comparison of aims and methods in education, and the "influence of religious, political, economic and social changes" upon educational content. His course in educational psychology dealt chiefly with the application of psychological principles, the growth of the child, and methods of teaching. It also included a study of "classic" educational literature. The third course offered by Brooks, entitled "Secondary Education," was designed for teachers in service in Durham County and included a study of the curriculum of the high school and educational psychology. He arranged

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15 Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1907-1908 (Durham, 1908), p. 90.

16 Ibid., p. 91.

this class for Saturdays in order that the Durham County teachers could attend. He was assisted by his colleagues in the subject fields: William P. Few and Edwin Mims in English and William K. Boyd in history.[17] The purpose of this class was to provide instruction in both the academic and normal subjects for teachers in service. In its first year the department of education enrolled six regular students and twenty-two teachers in the Saturday classes.[18]

Brooks' work at the college immediately won recognition from his former associates in the field of public education.[19] In November, 1907, State Superintendent Joyner wrote Robert Ogden of the Southern Education Board:

> Brooks was formerly a clerk in my office and was the first secretary of our state campaign committee. He was afterwards superintendent of the city schools of Goldsboro and an influential member of the Association of City Superintendents of this state. He is an enthusiastic schoolmen, and is, in my opinion, one of the most promising of the men engaged in public school work of the state. I think that he is going to do a great work at Trinity and be the means of utilizing Trinity College as a patent force in the public school work of the state.[20]

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17 Ibid., p. 91. See also Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 11.

18 Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 11; Trinity Chronicle, October 16, 1907.

19 During his first year at Trinity College Brooks was appointed to the faculty committees on "publication" and "courses of instruction." He was also among the seven persons chosen to deliver a Faculty Lecture, and he spoke on "The Evolution of Our School Curriculum." See Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1907-1908, pp. 17, 116-17.

20 J. Y. Joyner to Robert Ogden, November 22, 1907, Joyner Papers.

Brooks remained in close contact with the public schools. He was in great demand as a speaker and availed himself of every opportunity to observe the educational progress in the various parts of the state in which he spoke. Between March 11 and May 13, 1908, he filled at least ten speaking engagements before teachers' organizations in Forsyth, Guilford, and Caldwell counties, classes at the State Normal and Industrial College, and commencement audiences in Franklin and Johnston counties.[21] Since these appointments kept Brooks away from the college almost every weekend that spring, Professors Boyd, Mims, and Few conducted the Saturday classes for Durham County teachers.[22]

By this time Brooks had arrived at certain conclusions concerning the weakness of the educational system. He pointed out the existing defects in numerous addresses and publications. For example, at the meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States in November, 1907, Brooks called for a realistic approach to actual problems confronting southern schools rather than futile discussions of academic questions. He declared: "We meet in our Southern associations and view with much alarm the number of electives in the high school and the possibility of a three year college when we have neither a well-developed curriculum in the

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[21] Trinity Chronicle, March 11, 18, 25, 1908; April 22, 29, 1908; May 6, 13, 1908.

[22] Trinity Chronicle, March 18, 1908.

grammar school, nor state systems of high schools, nor uniform college entrance requirements."[23] Despite statements to the contrary, students in the second year of high school were permitted to enter many colleges as freshmen. According to Brooks, this situation resulted from poorly organized high schools and the lack of aid from colleges. He believed that the competition for patronage between colleges and high schools would continue "until the State Department of Education ... established a sort of regency board over all, and requires the high school to do their part in the great educational ladder and the colleges theirs."[24] For him the real problem was the establishment of a uniform course of study in the high schools and a re-statement, not necessarily an elevation, of college admission requirements. "Fix a standard," he implored the colleges, "and live up to it." He emphasized that the problem of completing the "educational ladder" from the grammar school through the college level was peculiar to the South, for the North had long passed this stage in the development of its schools.[25]

Brooks was particularly concerned about the establishment of

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[23] E. C. Brooks, "Problems of the Southern College," Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States, 1907, pp. 41-42.

[24] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[25] Ibid., pp. 45-57.

high schools in North Carolina and sought to aid school authorities in achieving the maximum benefits from the high school law of 1907.[26] He pointed out several factors that he considered important to the successful operation of high schools. First, there should be a strong grammar school that adequately prepared students for high school work. According to Brooks, sixty per cent of the high schools in the state were "doing only two years' work" and "only a small per cent" of the school children ever passed beyond the seventh grade. Second, high schools should not suffer from the lack of organization. Brooks insisted that the high school curriculum should be organized to fit the mental capacity and interests of the child and that the recitation method of teaching should give way to "quiet work in the classroom." Moreover, the grading and promoting of children should take into account their unequal capacities. Third, it was absolutely necessary for more men to become high school teachers. In his opinion "at least half of the teachers should be men" in order to attract more male students and erase the common notion that the high school was for females.[27]

Brooks' energetic efforts in behalf of public education during his first year at Trinity College were prophetic of his

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[26] Trinity Chronicle, May 13, 1908.

[27] E. C. Brooks, Building A System of High Schools in North Carolina, Bulletin of the Trinity College Department of Education, No. 1. (Durham, 1908).

future years as a college professor. The academic cloister was by no means the sole domain of this man of such diverse talents and interests; rather it served as his home base. Within a year he had made notable progress in establishing a real link between Trinity College and the public schools. President Kilgo's report to the board of trustees in June, 1908, indicated some of Brooks' achievements in his first year at Trinity. Kilgo declared:

> Mr. Brooks entered upon his work with enthusiasm and wisdom and has had remarkable success in getting his work organized. He has arranged and correlated the courses of study in his department with the courses of study in other departments, and has placed in the Library an excellent collection of books dealing with the subject of education. Under his direction and with the aid of the members of the faculty, there have been arranged courses of study adapted to the needs of teachers, and these courses have been opened to teachers who live near enough to Durham to attend weekly. This work was begun as an experiment, the aim of which is to benefit the teachers in the public schools. The results have been more than satisfactory, and with the experience of the present year the department will be able to arrange better courses for the future. Mr. Brooks has given much attention to securing information about educational work in our State and the amount of tabulated information which he has gathered is of great value.[27]

The obvious implication of Kilgo's statement was that through Brooks' efforts Trinity College was shifting from its "narrower" attitude toward public schools to a spirit of active cooperation.[28]

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[27] Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1908, pp. 3-4. See also Durham Herald, June 10, 1908.

[28] See Brooks, "Eugene C. Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch," p. 2; Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 26, 1956.

II

In the summer of 1908 Brooks conducted teachers' institutes in several counties. After a brief vacation with his family at Morehead City, one of his favorite resorts, he returned to Durham to prepare for the opening of the college in September.[29] For the academic year 1908-1909 Brooks refined and expanded the work of his department.[30] According to the college catalogue, he offered six courses which was twice the number of the previous year. Juniors and seniors were allowed to take the general history of education and the new course called "the science of education" which dealt with "the evolution of our school curriculum" and "the relation of the school to society." There were four courses for graduates and seniors. In addition to educational psychology, Brooks taught a course in school management that was chiefly concerned with teaching methods and courses of study, and a Saturday class in "secondary education" for Durham County teachers. A "history of culture" covering the principal intellectual movements from Plato to the

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[29] Trinity Chronicle, September 16, 1908.

[30] By the end of his first semester at Trinity College Brooks had established a reputable library of "educational classics" that included works in educational psychology, the science of education, methods of recitation, and classroom management as well as publications of the National Education Association, the State Department of Public Instruction, and other agencies. In October, 1908, a room was set apart in the general library for the use of the education department. Durham County teachers were allowed to use the Trinity College library free of charge. See Trinity Chronicle, January 22, 1908; October 14, 1908.

nineteenth century was offered jointly by the departments of education and history.[31]

One of Brooks' most successful experiments was his extension course for Durham County teachers, the first of its kind established in North Carolina.[32] It was, in fact, so successful that in July, 1908, State Superintendent Joyner authorized Durham County teachers to substitute extension work under the direction of Brooks for the two weeks summer institutes required by law.[33] Under this plan Brooks sent out weekly mimeographed assignment sheets to the teachers and met with them each month. On August 2, 1909, the Durham County Board of Education prescribed rules requiring teachers to participate in the program. Failure to comply with these regulations meant that a teacher would lose his job and could not hold a position in Durham County schools "for a period of one year." Brooks was employed to conduct the work at a salary of ten dollars per month.[34] So successful was the program that the Board continued it in

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[31] Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1908-1909, pp. 90-1. In 1911-12 the Trinity College department of education added two new courses entitled "The Learning Process" and "Comparative Education--School Systems in America and Europe." Annual Catalogue, 1911-12, pp. 102-3.

[32] Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 11.

[33] J. Y. Joyner to C. W. Massey, July 28, 1908, in Durham County School Bulletin, September 23, 1915.

[34] Minutes of the Durham County Board of Education, August 2, 1909, III, p. 76. Office of the County Superintendent of Public Schools, Durham County Courthouse, Durham, North Carolina.

the following years.[35]

In this course Brooks dealt with school methods based on daily experience, geography centered around local conditions, and literature pertinent to the upper grammar grades and high school. The teachers received their instruction weekly by correspondence and returned weekly reports including answers to questions on the particular subject under study.[36] For example, Brooks used the book, Checking the Waste, between January and April, 1913. In his weekly mimeographed letter to the teachers he considered the book chapter by chapter and outlined the main points in each one. His questions sought to relate the printed material to local situations. A rather typical question on Checking the Waste was: "If the soil is properly conserved, what will be the value to your county, to North Carolina, and to the nation?" At monthly meetings Brooks discussed the content of the courses for that particular period and examined the teachers upon the completion of each book. In this manner he covered a variety of books dealing with different subjects valuable to the teacher.[37] In many instances, he included works that the teacher was required by law to use

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[35] Minutes of the Durham County Board of Education, July 12, 1910, III, pp. 115-16.

[36] Trinity Chronicle, October 20, 1909.

[37] The Brooks Papers (BLS) contain a complete file of the mimeographed letters sent out weekly by Brooks to Durham County teachers between January and April, 1913.

in the classroom.[38]

On September 24, 1915, the Durham County Board of Education ordered the publication of a weekly school bulletin to replace Brooks' mimeographed letters. This bulletin also served as a mouthpiece for the Board and the county superintendent.[39] In this new bulletin Brooks continued his correspondence course for teachers that included such subjects as literature, nature study, geography, language, history and biography.[40] He urged teachers to form local clubs for the purpose of discussing among themselves the topics covered in the course. In order to speed up this development, he kept a record of all local clubs and published reports of their work in the Durham County School Bulletin.[41]

By 1913 Brooks realized the need for some changes in the organization of the extension course for Durham County teachers. Instead of the monthly meetings of all teachers, he organized the primary and high school teachers into separate groups in order that there could be some specialization in the work.[42] At about the same time he became convinced that the teachers' meetings had become too mechanical. He feared that the teacher

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[38] See Trinity Chronicle, October 20, 1909.

[39] Minutes of the Durham County Board of Education, September 24, 1915, III, pp. 331-32.

[40] See Durham County School Bulletin, 1915-1917.

[41] Durham County School Bulletin, October 15, 1915.

[42] Durham Herald, August 27, 1914.

might get no pleasure from his duties. So in 1914, he urged the teachers to organize meetings and study groups locally to "give them richer enthusiasm, and supply them with more life."[43] Brooks declared:

> It was William James of Harvard who said that if we miss the joy in doing a thing we miss the whole thing. And much of the reading outlined for teachers is done in a mechanical way and is little above drudgery.... I am proposing therefore to the county associations that the superintendents divide their teachers into smaller groups ... and insist on the members attending once a week if possible. The leading idea that I have in mind is to select so far as possible the subject matter for discussion in these clubs that will give the teachers pleasure.... There will be at least three classes of teachers--primary, grammar, and high school.[44]

Brooks then outlined a specific course for each group. By this method he hoped to discuss a wider variety of topics, thus attracting more teachers.[45]

During his twelve years at Trinity College Brooks succeeded in establishing a model program for teacher training in Durham County. In 1914 and 1915 he personally conducted weekly demonstrations in classroom teaching. Parents were invited to attend in order "to come in closer contact with the school."[46] In 1917 County Superintendent C. H. Massey employed Holland Holton as assistant superintendent in charge of teacher training,

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[43] Durham Herald, October 16, 1914.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Trinity Chronicle, October 21, 1914.

[46] Durham Herald, December 5, 1914; February 9, 1915.

but he made it clear that the "work of Mr. Bolton will in no way interfere with that of Prof. Brooks."[47] Indeed, Bolton and Brooks became fast friends and cooperated in the training of county teachers. In 1918 they conducted a model summer school for teachers without experience who intended to start teaching in the county and for those who possessed low grade certificates.[48]

Brooks' extension work for teachers in service in Durham County attracted the attention of school officials throughout the state. S. B. Underwood, a Trinity graduate and Superintendent of the Kinston City Schools, cooperated with the Lenoir County superintendent in organizing extension work for 1912 based on the Brooks plan.[49] In the same year Brooks explained his work to the city board of education in Winston-Salem which was considering the inauguration of a similar plan between its schools and Salem College. Here some misunderstanding had apparently developed as the Winston-Salem board seemed to think that Durham County contributed to the financial support of the Trinity College department of education.[50] Actually, as

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47 Durham Herald, June 9, 1917.

48 Durham Herald, June 18, 1918; July 27, 1918; August 16, 1918.

49 Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1912, p. 5.

50 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, March 3, 1914, Few Papers.

William P. Few who had succeeded Kilgo as president of Trinity said, the college expected "no compensation ... except the satisfaction of doing good."[51] In the meantime as the reputation of the extension work grew, teachers from the city of Durham as well as from Granville, Johnston, and Orange counties participated in the courses.[52] How Brooks performed all these duties so successfully is difficult to see. Actually, he did have some assistance from his friend, W. D. Carmichael, Superintendent of Durham City Schools, who offered a course for several years.[53] Moreover, Brooks was able to expand the scope of his educational work in 1913 when Dr. Edgar Knight, one of his former students, joined the Trinity College department of education.[54]

In the meantime the expansion of Brooks' activities was leading to friction with his like number at the University of North Carolina. On July 1, 1912, the Orange County Board of Education voted "to get Prof. E. C. Brooks to give the Orange County teachers the same course he is giving the Durham County teachers."[55]

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[51] W. P. Few to R. H. Latham, February 27, 1914, Few Papers.

[52] Trinity Chronicle, October 21, 1914; Durham Herald, March 23, 1916.

[53] Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1912, pp. 4-5.

[54] Durham Herald, June 28, 1913.

[55] Minutes of the Orange County Board of Education, July 1, 1912, p. 409, Office of the County Superintendent of Public Schools, Hillsboro, North Carolina. See also S. P. Lockhart to E. C. Brooks, July 2, 1912, Brooks Papers (DUL).

State Superintendent Joyner exempted these teachers also from the summer institutes, and Brooks promptly inaugurated a new extension course, traveling to Hillsboro each month for the meeting with the teachers.[56] At this time L. A. Williams, professor of education in the University of North Carolina, was directing the training of teachers in service in the Chapel Hill schools. In February, 1915, Williams wanted the teachers in Carrboro and other schools in Orange County near Chapel Hill to come under his direction.[57] Brooks apparently resented this intrusion upon his program. At any rate, friction developed between the two men, and Williams came to feel that he had been "too officious" in the whole matter.[58] Brooks obviously thought so, because he decided to give up his extension work in Orange County in December, 1915. County Superintendent S. P. Lockhart urged Brooks to reconsider, saying that he regarded his work as "one of the greatest factors in the educational development of the county. If you withdraw from the work, I fear that the interest in the teachers' meetings and clubs will lag."[59] Despite Lockhart's letter, Brooks gave up

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[56] Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1915, pp. 6-7; Durham Herald, January 15, 1915.

[57] L. A. Williams to E. C. Brooks, February 2, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[58] L. A. Williams to E. C. Brooks, December 20, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[59] S. P. Lockhart to E. C. Brooks, December 27, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

his work, and the Orange County Board of Education sought to continue the extension course for teachers "by the help of the University if possible."[60]

III

By 1909 Brooks had come to realize the pressing need for teacher-training facilities to meet the demands of the public high schools that sprang up over the state following the passage of the high school law in 1907. Within four years more than two hundred rural high schools were established in ninety-three counties.[61] Brooks felt that Trinity College should take the lead in providing facilities for the preparation of teachers in such schools. He insisted that Trinity had "made no provision for the teacher who is below the college academic work in scholarship, yet who is too old to take a complete

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60 Minutes of the Orange County Board of Education, March 6, 1916, p. 448. Related to the disagreement between Brooks and Williams was the feud between Superintendent Lockhart and the rural supervisor, Miss Lulu Cassidy, "over the division of duties." Their feud led to a serious division in the Orange County school system with the Chapel Hill "faction" apparently supporting Miss Cassidy. State Superintendent Joyner was called in to mediate the wrangle and he in turn asked Brooks for assistance. Brooks also told Joyner: "I am somewhat responsible for Miss Cassidy's hatred of Mr. Lockhart." The matter was settled satisfactorily by Joyner in May, 1916. See Ibid., January 3, 1916, p. 446; May 3, 1916, p. 451; E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, May 20, 1916; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, May 23, 1916; E. C. Brooks to S. P. Lockhart, May 30, 1916, S. P. I. Correspondence.

61 Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 340.

college course." From this group, he declared, "the larger number of high school teachers is to be drawn." He emphasized the fact that the "lack of scholarship" among teachers was a major obstacle to the establishment of efficient public high schools. As a result, many such schools either were unable to open because of the lack of qualified teachers or opened and failed "because they lacked any purpose other than the subject matter of dead textbooks." According to Brooks, nowhere in the state was there an institution with a definite program for elementary school teachers with a high school diploma and experience, who desired to qualify for high school work without taking a complete college course. He urged the college to provide the "special preparation" needed by these teachers and outlined in detail a plan for "enlarging the Department of Education" to include this group.[62]

The college administration adopted his plan and established the School of Education in 1910. Brooks did not propose "to convert Trinity College into a teachers' college," but as he said "to make connection between the different departments of all the secondary schools and the corresponding departments in Trinity College."[63] Through the School of Education he attempted to establish this "connection." The requirements for admission were the "completion of a high school course of ap-

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[62] E. C. Brooks, "A Plan For Enlarging the Department of Education at Trinity College", (c.1909), Brooks Papers (DUL).

[63] Ibid.

proved standing," and "some experience in teaching." There was no tuition, only a matriculation fee of nine dollars per term. Six "groups" of studies, "running through the freshman and sophomore years," each with a major and two minor subjects were available to the applicant. He was to choose as his major the subject which he planned to teach in high school. These studies consisted of the classical, science, history, modern language, English and mathematics "groups." Therefore, if a person intended to teach history, he chose the history "group" which included history as the major and English and economics as the minors. These courses were offered by professors of the appropriate departments. In addition, students in the School of Education were required to take courses three hours per week in methods of study and instruction that were offered by Brooks.[64] The School of Education remained a part of Trinity College until Brooks' departure. It undoubtedly fulfilled his desire to render "service" at a time when teachers were "bewildered and looking in every direction for assistance."[65]

In many ways Brooks was an unorthodox professor of education. He had not attended a teachers' college, therefore his courses were largely the products of his own experience and his study of current literature on education. Nevertheless, he

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[64] Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1910-11, pp. 153-59; Durham Herald, May 25, 1910.

[65] Brooks, "A Plan for Enlarging the Department of Education," Brooks Papers (DUL).

not only exerted great influence through his extension work and the School of Education, but also inspired "a whole generation of school men" in his regular college classes.[66] The size of his classes increased until it was necessary for him to hold them in a large room in the new West Duke Building. Brooks generally used the lecture method of teaching, but frequently managed to have pertinent discussions by the students. His own experience in public education equipped him to interpret the needs of prospective public school teachers. Educational theories without practical application had no place in his courses. Apparently Brooks employed his oratorical abilities in his class lectures, for his students describe them as "dynamic" and "inspiring."[67] One observer later wrote: "Dr. Brooks was one of the most genial men ever to teach at Trinity. He had a wonderful sense of humor and told a story in an inimitable fashion. His classes were never dry or boring. His laugh was one of the most contagious that I ever heard."[68] One of his students recalled an occasion when a young man, suffering from the effects of a "rough" weekend, fell asleep in Brooks' Monday morning class. Brooks stopped his lecture; and the silence became laborious. At this point the student

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[66] Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 11.

[67] Interviews with Mr. B. L. Smith, April 28, 1956; Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956; and Dr. John F. Carr, Jr., September 28, 1956. All three of these men were students under Brooks.

[68] Mersey E. Spense, "I Remember": Recollections and Reminiscenses of Alma Mater (Durham, 1954), p. 52.

awoke with a start to find his professor standing directly in front of him. Brooks bowed low and said: "Thank you sir!"[69]

In his classes Brooks emphasized the necessity for teachers to demonstrate "initiative and originality" in their work and to learn how to express their ideas. He implored his students to participate actively in civic affairs--"to become community leaders." Three constant themes of his courses were the utilization of one's own ideas, "education for service," and community leadership. This is not to say, however, that Brooks did not present specific information and instruction in the history of education, educational psychology, and the other courses that he taught, but rather that he clearly indicated how the content of each might be effectively applied in various situations which his students would encounter as teachers. Among the books which he used regularly in his courses were William James' Talk to Teachers, F. M. McMurry's How to Study and Teaching How to Study, and oddly enough Emerson's essay "Self Reliance." For his numerous demonstrations in methods of handling materials he drew heavily from history and English.[70]

Brooks took an especial interest in his students and their work. In private conference as well as in the classroom he

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[69] Interview with Mr. B. L. Smith, April 28, 1956.

[70] Interviews with Dr. John W. Carr, Jr., September 28, 1956; and Mr. B. L. Smith, April 28, 1956.

urged them to take a realistic, intelligent approach to educational problems and to formulate and utilize their own ideas in solving them. He seemed to possess a knack for discerning the special talents and interests of a student and for guiding his development along appropriate lines.[71] In some instances, Brooks made it possible for such students to secure advance training at outstanding universities. At times he contributed toward their expenses from his own meager funds. One of his "favorite" students was Edgar W. Knight whom he assisted in pursuing graduate work at Columbia University.[72] Dr. Knight joined the Trinity College department of education in 1913 and later went to the University of North Carolina. He became the principal authority on the educational history of the South.[73] Other students who came under Brooks' influence at Trinity College between 1907 and 1919 became prominent in the field of public education. These included a State Superintendent, several division directors in the State Department of Public Instruction, and a host of county and city school superintendents.[74] One student, who came to Trinity in 1908

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[71] Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956; and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[72] Alfred S. Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Fifth President of State College" (An address delivered on March 17, 1951). Copy in possession of the writer. Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[73] Durham Herald, June 28, 1913; Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 12.

[74] Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," p. 12. See also William T. Laprade, "The History of Trinity College" (Written in 1922), pp. 59-61. (In the possession of Dr. William T. Laprade.)

through Brooks' influence and took his courses in education, became Governor of North Carolina in 1945.[75]

Brooks was interested in nearly all activities affecting Trinity College. He served on several important faculty committees, especially those concerned with admissions and "student life."[76] He was a prominent figure in the faculty meetings and was appointed to a variety of temporary committees which required considerable time and work. For example, he assisted in arranging meetings of state and regional organizations at Trinity, investigating athletic programs, and revising certain courses.[77] He also played a significant role in the alumni affairs of the college and was "on continuous call as the perennial toastmaster" at local alumni gatherings.[78] He was not only instrumental in organizing county alumni groups, but expounded the advantages of Trinity in nearly every section of the state.[79] In these travels he also "looked over" pro-

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[75] R. Gregg Cherry to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, March 15, 1951, Brooks Papers (DUL). In 1910-11 Brooks' department enrolled 88 students in addition to 74 teachers in extension work. Twenty-seven of the sixty-four Trinity graduates in 1912 entered teaching. By 1916 there were over 90 teachers in the extension program. Trinity Chronicle, September 18, 1912; Durham Herald, February 6, 1916; Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," pp. 11-12.

[76] Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1912-1913, p. 18.

[77] Minutes of the Faculty Meetings of Trinity College, February 2, 1911-November 22, 1913. Office of the Secretary of Duke University. The Minutes prior to 1911 were destroyed by fire.

[78] Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks" (An Address).

[79] See Trinity Chronicle, January 20, 1909; February 9, 1910. The Trinity Alumni Register (begun in 1915) seldom fails to include mention of Brooks' activity among the alumni between the years 1915 and 1919.

spective students.[80] Whenever the college undertook a financial campaign among alumni, Brooks always gave unstintedly of his time and oratorical talents.[81] For several years he served as chairman of the executive committee of the general alumni association and was on the editorial board of the Trinity Alumni Register which began publication in 1915.[82]

In 1910 Brooks outlined a plan by which the alumni association and the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church would hold "educational rallies" in every county for the purpose of advertising Trinity College. He felt that each church in the county should be represented on the program and the presiding elder should be present if possible.[83] The movement was inaugurated at Trinity Methodist Church in Durham in April, 1910. The Durham County Chapter of the Trinity College alumni and the local Methodist ministers sponsored the program. Brooks presented an address on "What Trinity Men Have Done and Are Doing For the Welfare of the State." Similar rallies were held all over the state in the following months.[84]

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[80] R. Gregg Cherry to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, March 15, 1951, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[81] Durham Herald, March 6, 1918.

[82] Durham Herald, June 6, 1917; Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1912-1913, p. 119; Annual Catalogue, 1917-1918, p. 156.

[83] Gilbert T. Rowe to E. C. Brooks, March 4, 1910, Brooks Papers (DUL); E. C. Brooks, "Educational Days," North Carolina Christian Advocate LV (April 10, 1910), pp. 4-5.

[84] Trinity Chronicle, April 6, 1910. See also the North Carolina Christian Advocate LV (April-July, 1910).

In 1908 the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church selected Brooks, W. P. Few, and President J. M. Rhodes of Littleton Female Institute as a commission on education. Their duties consisted of investigating admission requirements, courses of study, and equipment of certain Methodist schools and reporting their findings to the Conference's Board of Education. Brooks' portion of the investigation concerned the female college in Louisburg and Littleton.[85] He also served the Conference in various other capacities and was a frequent speaker before church organizations such as Sunday school conventa and the Federation of Wesley Bible Classes.[86] In 1914-15 a course in the "teaching and management of Sunday Schools" was added to the department of education at Trinity College.[87] In addition to his activities in the religious life of the college, Brooks was a member and lay leader in the Duke Memorial Methodist Church of Durham. He considered strong churches necessary to any progressive, well-balanced community, and he urged his students to take part in the affairs of the locality in which they became teachers.[88]

Brooks manifested a keen interest in the extra-curricula activities of the students at Trinity College. For several

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[85] Trinity Chronicle, December 9, 1908; North Carolina Christian Advocate LIII (December 3, 1908), p. 6.

[86] Durham Herald, September 6, 1917; April 8, 1917.

[87] Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1914-1915, pp. 109-10.

[88] Interviews with Mr. S. L. Smith, April 28, 1956, and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

years he was on the advisory board of the campus newspaper.[89] His undergraduate literary club, the Hesperian Literary Society, elected him an honorary member. He spoke before student organizations on diverse subjects. In a short speech before the Hesperian Society in 1915 he declared that "the greatest thing in the world is an idea, and the greatest man in the world is one who can best express that idea."[90] At the request of the Young Men's Christian Association Brooks delivered a series of lectures on "Race Relations in the South" in 1918. In these talks he emphasized the need for a change in the white man's attitude toward the Negro--a change from "contempt" to an attitude "of interest and service." According to his view, better housing facilities and educational advantages were the especial needs of the Negro. The time was approaching, he concluded, when the Negro would no longer serve "as an ox," and the education of the race was an absolute necessity.[91] Another evidence of his interest in extra-curricula affairs was his formation of an Education Club in March, 1911. The purpose of this organization, composed of students, members of the faculty, and teachers in Durham City Schools and Trinity Park High School, was to discuss current

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89 Trinity Chronicle, November 28, 1918.

90 Trinity Chronicle, September 15, 1915.

91 Trinity Chronicle, March 13, April 10, 17, 1918; Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1917-18, p. 140.

educational problems.[92] The Trinity Chronicle noted that "the formation of the educational club is in line with Professor E. C. Brooks' other activities in making Trinity College an important factor in the development of the state."[93]

Brooks was not only popular with the students but with the faculty as well. Among his closest friends were Mims, Boyd, and William T. Laprade who came to Trinity in 1909 as professor of History. Dr. F. N. Parker, professor of biblical literature, was also one of Brooks' intimate friends and chess mates.[94] On one occasion when Brooks was away from Durham Parker wrote him: "I find no one here can fill your place and the cause of chess has suffered from your absence. There are some here who like it fairly well but you are an enthusiast of the right sort."[95] There developed an intimate relationship between Brooks and Professor William K. Boyd who assisted him in the extension work and in the writing of his books. Boyd later described Brooks as a person possessing "imagination, fertility of ideas, and interest in the place of Trinity in the development of education in North Carolina."[96] According to another

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[92] Annual Catalogue of Trinity College, 1911-1912, p. 136.

[93] Trinity Chronicle, April 12, 1911.

[94] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956; Edwin Mims to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., April 26, 1956.

[95] F. N. Parker to E. C. Brooks, March 10, 1914, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[96] William K. Boyd, "Memoirs of a Book Hunter," William K. Boyd Papers, Duke University Library.

colleague, the host of students, "stimulated by contact" with Brooks, found "more in the task of teaching than a temporary means of earning a livelihood until they could find a more substantial place in the world for a permanent vocation."[97] Not the least among Brooks' friends at Trinity was President Kilgo whose guidance and support were important factors in his early success at the college.[98]

So popular had Brooks become by the time of Kilgo's elevation to the bishopric that he was considered as a possible successor to the presidency of Trinity College. Brooks then had been at Trinity only three years. One patron of the college wrote him: "I would still be happier to see you president of Trinity, and there is some conjecture that you might be."[99] Another friend, Harry Howell, superintendent of the High Point schools, wrote:

> I do not know that I can do anything, but I am willing enough and would like to do anything desired. I had a talk with Dr. Peacock [a trustee of Trinity] yesterday. He admitted that you are the best man in the faculty for the place; but he said that anybody acquainted with things knows that the man whom the Dukes want will be elected. He said ... that all recognize that for sometime yet the college must look to the Dukes for help and that they must not be offended. How do you stand there?[100]

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97 William T. Laprade, "The History of Trinity College", p.23.

98 Garber, John C. Kilgo, p. 109. See also J. C. Kilgo to E. C. Brooks, December 18, 1913; J. C. Kilgo to E. C. Brooks, November 3, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

99 T. A. Bolton to E. C. Brooks, May 17, 1910, Brooks Papers (DUL).

100 Harry Howell to E. C. Brooks, May 18, 1910, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Although Brooks undoubtedly stood well with the Dukes, his close friend and colleague, Dean William P. Few, was apparently in better standing with them and had been groomed for the position by Kilgo. At any rate, Few was elected president of Trinity College on June 6, 1910.[101]

As has already been indicated, Few gave Brooks strong support in expanding the work of his department in the ensuing eight and a half years. The two men shared a mutual confidence and admiration. Few had taken a sympathetic approach to public education for years and was in thorough accord with Brooks' work.[102] Indeed, he seldom missed an opportunity to boast about Brooks to the board of trustees. In every annual report between 1911 and 1918 he singled out Brooks' accomplishments for special consideration. In 1914 Few told the trustees: "Professor Brooks has made quite a name for himself as a teacher, as an educational organizer, and lately as a writer."[103] A year later, he informed the trustees: "Twice before in my reports I have called attention to the extension work done by our department of education under the leadership of Professor E. C. Brooks.... It is of so great significance that I feel

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101 See The Papers and Addresses of William Preston Few: Late President of Duke University. Edited with a Biographical Appreciation by Robert H. Woody. (Durham, 1951), pp. 49-50.

102 Hamilton, "Duke University and the Schools," pp. 12-13.

103 Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1914, pp. 3-4.

justified at this time in giving a brief history of the movement."[104] Few, then, described in very complimentary terms Brooks' success in perfecting and expanding his extension courses. By 1916 Few was suggesting to the trustees that the time was "ripe for the organization of a council on extension" composed of representatives of all colleges, both denominational and state, in North Carolina. The purpose was "to unify the extension work that is being more or less sporadically undertaken today."[105] Apparently nothing came of this suggestion.

As much as Brooks would have enjoyed the elaborate inaugural ceremonies for Few he was not able to attend because of the death of his father several days earlier on October 31, 1910.[106] He, of course, went immediately to Grifton to be with his bereaved and ailing mother. As the oldest son in the family he attended to the funeral arrangements. He had barely recovered from this tragedy when his mother suffered a cerebral hemmorage and died on November 27, 1910.[107] Brooks as administrator of the estate was forced to spend considerable time complying with

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104 Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1915, pp. 6-7.

105 Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1916, p. 9.

106 Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Edmonds Brooks Cobb, October 6, 1956; Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

107 Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 5/11/31, Duke Hospital.

the necessary legal regluations.[108] Within the specified time he settled these matters and sold the family farm in Contentnea Neck Township. He was appointed guardian of his youngest sister Glenn, then fifteen years old.[109]

IV

Amid his numerous activities at Trinity College Brooks found time for study, research, and publication. While at Trinity, he published five works and collaborated on two supplements to state-adopted textbooks.[110] In 1916 he became a "contributing editor" of the New Encyclopaedia For the Young, a multi-volume work edited by Dr. M. V. O'Shea of the University of Wisconsin.[111] He also wrote several articles for national educational journals[112] and edited the North Carolina Journal of Education, a

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[108] Deeds and Mortgages of Lenoir County, Book 41, p. 763; The Carolina Home and Farm and Eastern Reflector (Greenville, North Carolina), December 9, 1910.

[109] Memorandum by Mrs. Glenn Brooks Mayberry, October 6, 1956.

[110] See below chapter vi.

[111] Other contributing editors of this work Luther Burbank, Albert B. Hart, and Thomas N. Page. Brooks received an honorarium of thirty-five dollars as a contributing editor. See Trinity Chronicle, April 16, 1916; M. V. O'Shea to E. C. Brooks, April 7, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL); Durham Herald, April 11, 1916.

[112] E. C. Brooks, "Seven, Eight and Nine Years in the Elementary School," The Elementary School Teacher XVI (September, 1913), pp. 20-28; Brooks, "Seven, Eight and Nine Years in the Elementary School," The Elementary School Teacher XVI (Octo-

teachers' magazine.[113] Brooks also maintained an interest in history and historical writing. He presented papers based upon various aspects of his research to the Trinity College Historical Society.[114] With the first issue of the Trinity Alumni Register in April, 1915, he began a series of articles on Braxton Craven and Trinity College. In preparing these historical articles he sent out inquiries to men who had known Craven and made considerable use of Craven's diary as well as other primary sources.[115]

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ber, 1913), pp. 82-92; Brooks, "The Value of Home Study Under Parental Supervision," The Elementary School Journal XVIII (November, 1917), pp. 187-94. See also E. C. Brooks, A Comparison of School Systems, Bulletin of the Trinity College Department of Education, No. 2.

113 See below chapter v.

114 Trinity Chronicle, April 23, 1909; March 23, 1911; October 30, 1912.

115 E. C. Brooks, Notes on Braxton Craven, Brooks Papers (BLS). For a sample of the inquiries mentioned above see E. C. Brooks to Dr. D. G. B. McMullen, March 16, 1915, Trinity College Papers. Brooks' articles in the order of their appearance: "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," Trinity Alumni Register I (April, 1915), pp. 4-8; "First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College," Trinity Alumni Register I (October, 1915), pp. 159-67; "Braxton Craven and Trinity College," Trinity Alumni Register I (January, 1916), pp. 247-57; "The Re-opening of Trinity College After the War," Trinity Alumni Register, II (October, 1916), pp. 247-58; "George Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," Trinity Alumni Register II (January, 1917), pp. 309-21; "Craven's Reorganization and Management of the College," Trinity Alumni Register III (April, 1917), pp. 1-12; "Braxton Craven's Diary," Trinity Alumni Register III (July, 1917), pp. 69-84; "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," Trinity Alumni Register III (October, 1917), pp. 189-95; "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education After the War," Trinity Alumni Register IV (April, 1918), pp. 1-10.

Brooks also worked closely with Professor William K. Boyd on the publication of a new series by the Trinity College Historical Society called the John Lawson Monographs in honor of the first historian of North Carolina. Brooks managed to secure for the Society the autobiography of Brantley York, the first head of the institution that later became Trinity College. This autobiography, edited by Boyd with an introductory sketch by Brooks, was published in 1910 as the first volume in the John Lawson Monographs.[116] The Society, however, was not financially able to undertake the publication of the second volume in the series, the memoirs of W. W. Holden, Governor of North Carolina during Reconstruction. In order to overcome the financial difficulties Professor Boyd

... went to the new president of Trinity, William P. Few, and proposed that the college assume responsibility for the deficit on the Holden Memoirs which deficit I was sure would be low and that all exchanges would be given to the library. I was told that this was impossible as the College had no funds which could be used for this purpose. Disheartened, I took Brooks into my confidence. He told me not to worry. Then, one afternoon after a faculty meeting he beckoned to me, and together we went to the President's office. He there repeated to President Few my proposal but much to my surprise added that in case Trinity did not publish Holden's Memoirs that the University of North Carolina would. This was a lie out of the whole cloth, but it worked. President Few said 'Go ahead.'[117]

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[116] Boyd, "Memoirs of a Book Hunter," Boyd Papers; The Autobiography of Brantley York [The John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society vol. I] Edited by William K. Boyd with an Introductory Sketch by E. C. Brooks. (Durham, 1910), pp. vii-xv.

[117] Boyd, "Memoirs of a Book Hunter," Boyd Papers. Cf. Tilley, The Trinity College Historical Society, pp. 93-4. Dr. Tilley seems to suggest that the College underwrote the Monographs before the first publication in 1910.

After Brooks and Boyd induced the college to underwrite the venture, the Memoirs of W. H. Holden appeared as the second volume of the John Lawson Monographs in 1911.[118]

In 1913 Brooks decided to take advanced work at Teachers College, Columbia University. He was awarded the Dean Fellowship, and Trinity paid him $700, about a third of his salary.[119] Thus he was able to move his whole family to New York. Edgar Knight assumed Brooks' classroom responsibilities, but at the same time Brooks kept in close contact with the activities of his department.[120] President Few himself performed such chores as renting Brooks' house and collecting the rent.[121] Brooks secured an apartment at 417 West 120th Street. Young Gene attended a nearby public school, while Martha and Sarah studied under a private tutor.[122]

The major portion of Brooks' work at Columbia University was under Paul Monroe, professor of education, and Edwin R. A. Seligman, professor of political economy. From his study Brooks intended to gain information for a proposed work on "the history of educational practice." He wrote Joyner: "I am pursuing two

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118 See Memoirs of W. H. Holden [The John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society, vol. II] Edited by William K. Boyd. (Durham, 1911).

119 Trinity Chronicle, September 10, 1913; Schedule of Salaries, Few Papers.

120 Trinity Chronicle, September 10, 1913.

121 W. P. Few to E. C. Brooks, October 8, 1913, Few Papers.

122 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, September 30, 1913, Few Papers.

lines of study that meet in my investigations--the origin of our public schools and the affect of economics on education."[123] Brooks was particularly interested in Seligman's economics course and considered Seligman "the tallest timber in these parts."[124] Brooks' classes in education were concerned largely with "education in the Elizabethan Age" and the evolution of the public schools in the United States.[125] He also attended lectures presented by Professor James T. Shotwell on the decline and fall of Rome and by Professor John Dewey on the European Enlightenment.[126]

During 1913-1914, Brooks and President Few carried on a regular and frequent correspondence. Few kept him informed of happenings at Trinity while Brooks reciprocated with descriptions of life at Columbia. On September 30, 1913, Brooks wrote Few:

> There is a queer aggregation of folks in my immediate neighborhood. It is needless therefore for me to explain by saying that Teachers College is across the street from me. A college presidentress from Chile goes by with glasses and a queer shaped hat; the honest Japanese school boy is everywhere; a leathery faced pedagogue from Hawaii is trying to unravel the whole mystery; a sombreroed Mexican, unconscious of trouble at

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123 E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 3, 1913, S. P. I. Correspondence.

124 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, February __, 1914, Few Papers. See also E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, October 9, 1913; Few Papers; E. C. Brooks, Notebooks: Economics, 203-204, Brooks Papers (BLS).

125 E. C. Brooks, Notebook: Education in the Elizabethan Age; Brooks, Notebook: Education in the United States, Brooks Papers (BLS).

126 E. C. Brooks, Notebook: Economics and Shotwell Lectures; Brooks, Notebook: Economics and Philosophy, Brooks Papers (BLS).

home, has come this far to find it; old maids with cheek bones and no abdomens are thick as fleas ... anyway the spinsters are here galore. But the strangest thing about it all is that these professors, instructors, and officers can pass one another with serious faces. But they seem to be in earnest, notwithstanding the human menagerie that rages without a keeper.[127]

At this stage, however, Brooks was pleased with Teachers College and with life in the big city.

While in New York he retained a keen interest in the affairs of Trinity College. He was always "on the lookout" for speakers for special occasions at Trinity and suggested to Few the names of several prominent men that he might induce to go to Durham. After attending the meeting of the National Collegiate Athletic Association at the Astor Hotel in December, 1913, he informed Few that the proceedings reminded him "of a faculty meeting about the first of February when the athletic rules of the college are brought out to wake up the boys." He also declared: "The Association closed the meeting without settling the main disputed point as to whether the aim of athletics is recreation or education. If so, which; if not, why. Then the adjournment, after resolving that we are not so bad as we think we are and we are slowly improving retrogressively."[128] At the meeting Brooks himself suggested that college athletics be placed on the same plane as the academic subjects, "making the healthy man the real aim and requiring all

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[127] B. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, September 30, 1913, Few Papers.

[128] B. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, January 3, 1914, Few Papers.

students to come to some standard."[129]

During his year in New York Brooks found time to visit his old friend and mentor, John Franklin Crowell, who was then connected with Dow, Jones and Company.[130] Brooks and his wife were also invited to dine with Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin N. Duke at their home on Fifth Avenue. On this occasion Duke asked Brooks to accept a responsible position in the American Tobacco Company. Brooks' friends, W. W. Flowers and Clinton Toms, had already moved from public school work into the Duke tobacco empire. Brooks, however, politely declined Duke's offer and told him that his "future was in the educational world."[131]

In the meantime the letters from Joyner and Few with news of "happenings" in North Carolina had made Brooks homesick for his usual place in the midst of these activities.[132] By April 14, 1914, he was "counting the days that intervene between now and my freedom." In a letter to Joyner on that date that included a candid statement of his opinion of Teachers College he wrote:

I have heard so much about theory around Teachers College and seen so little evidence of practical results that I wonder--How long, O God, how long? My work has been chiefly in the field

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129 Ibid.

130 John F. Crowell to E. C. Brooks, March 19, 1915, Trinity College Papers.

131 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

132 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, February __, 1914, Few Papers.

of economics, of live institutions, and the history of education ... I sometimes drop in to hear other heads of departments address their students and it reminds me very much of a local tax campaign, a teachers' institute or a section of the Teachers' Assembly--or better a combination of the three.

But the most refreshing thing is the eagerness of the crowd for some li ht--that insatiable thirst for a satisfying draught. Are they getting it? I don't know. I am afraid not. This may be unkind and an unpolitic thing to say, therefore it is not for the public.[133]

Joyner was "delighted" that Brooks was anxious to return to North Carolina and declared that his heart was set "a trembling" whenever one of his "strongmen" took advanced study for fear that they "may be tempted by the better compensation which richer states can offer."[134]

In the spring of 1914 Brooks and Few arranged through correspondence the work of the education department at Trinity for the next academic year. They persuaded Knight to remain as a professor in the department and provided for the purchase of additional books on education for the college library.[135] In April, 1914, Brooks wrote Few: "Since coming here [Teachers College] I have become convinced that my work at Trinity was along the right lines. I have become thoroughly confident that the direction I have been giving is the direction that educational philosophers and psychologists are taking and must

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[133] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 14, 1914, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[134] J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, April 21, 1914, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[135] E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, February __, 1914; W. P. Few to E. C. Brooks, February 18, 1914; W. P. Few to E. C. Brooks,

take, and we at Trinity College have brought educational theory and educational practice a little closer together than I find in many other teacher training institutions. But I am inclined to boast...."[136]

Shortly before Brooks began preparations to leave New York, his wife was stricken with an acute attack of appendicitis and had to remain in the hospital for some time.[137] After her rather slow recovery, the family returned to Durham around May 1, 1914. Brooks considered his year at Columbia University quite "valuable," but he was glad "to take hold of things again" in North Carolina. He had "many things to talk about and to do."[138] He had already admitted that "active life in the field is more agreeable to me than a life of supposed ease in a big university."[139]

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Throughout his twelve years in Durham Brooks' activity in

February 14, 1914; E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, April 14, 1914; E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, _____, 1914, Few Papers.

136 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, April __, 1914, Few Papers.

137 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, February __, 1914, Few Papers; E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 14, 1914, S. P. I. Correspondence.

138 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, April __, 1914, Few Papers.

139 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, February 18, 1914, Few Papers.

behalf of education extended far beyond the realm of classroom instruction and extension work at Trinity College. In the summer he generally delivered lectures and conducted teachers' institutes in various parts of the state. For example, during the summer of 1909, he "lectured at the Applachian Training School in Boone and conducted institutes in Yancey, Cleveland, and Rockingham counties."[140] Brooks continued this kind of summer work until 1913 when President Robert Wright of the East Carolina Teachers' Training School induced him to teach in summer school there. But he declined Wright's invitation to return the following summer.[141]

In the meantime Brooks' friend of undergraduate days, Bruce Payne, had undertaken to rebuild an obscure institution in Tennessee into George Peabody College for Teachers. While Brooks was at Columbia University, Payne pleaded with him to accept a permanent position at Peabody. On April 26, 1914, Brooks wrote Few: "I have had my last round with Payne and I think he is satisfied and so am I. I think too much of my work in North Carolina to change for an uncertainity."[142] These were sweet words to Few who immediately replied: "I am a well wisher of Payne ..., but I am glad that you have put

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[140] Trinity Chronicle, September 15, 1909.

[141] Robert Wright to E. C. Brooks, April 2, 1913; Robert Wright to E. C. Brooks, January 12, 1914, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[142] E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, April 26, 1914, Few Papers.

the quietus on him. You have a great field here and you have been, are still and will be one of the greatest forces for enlightenment and real progress that has ever influenced this state."[143] Payne, however, did persuade Brooks to teach in the Peabody summer school in 1914.[144] The following summer he returned to Peabody at an increased salary[145] and also offered a course to students in the School of Religion of Vanderbilt University.[146] Two years later Professor Boyd joined him in the summer school at Peabody.[147]

In addition to his institute and summer school work, Brooks continued to hold a prominent place in several state and regional organizations. Through these groups he not only made important contacts for himself, but solidified the link between

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[143] W. P. Few to E. C. Brooks, April 29, 1914, Few Papers.

[144] Bruce Payne to E. C. Brooks, December 13, 1913; Carter Alexander to E. C. Brooks, January 18, 1914, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[145] In 1914 Brooks received a salary of $200 with a maximum of $350 for expenses. The following year he received about $100 more in actual salary. Carter Alexander to E. C. Brooks, January 18, 1914; Bruce Payne to E. C. Brooks, January 16, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[146] Wilbur Tillett to E. C. Brooks, July 23, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[147] Woody, William Preston Few, p. 89; Trinity Chronicle, September 17, 1917. In 1916 Brooks declined an invitation to teach in the summer school at the University of North Carolina in order to spend the summer working on his volume on Woodrow Wilson. The following year he declined an offer to teach in the summer school at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering. See N. W. Walker to E. C. Brooks, July 23, 1915; W. A. Withers to E. C. Brooks, November 1, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Trinity College and the public schools. He had gradually become a significant figure in the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States since his first address before that body in 1903. He again addressed the Association in 1907 and 1909. In the latter year he spoke on "A Comparison of School Systems" in which he discussed the relative merits of the eight year grammar school-four year high school plan as opposed to the seven year grammar school-four year high school plan. Brooks did not set out to prove the superiority of one plan, but rather to point out the advantages and disadvantages of both in view of the number of daily recitations, problems of promotion, and the legal age for school entrance.[148]

Brooks was a member of the executive committee of the Association for five years, 1908 through 1913.[149] This was an especially crucial period for the young high schools of the South, and various organizations such as the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools were attempting to raise them to certain standards. In 1911 Brooks and two other members of a subcommittee presented to the Association a report "recommending the appointment of a commission to regulate the accrediting system" of the schools and colleges of the South. The re-

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148 Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States, 1909, pp. 65-84.

149 Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, 1912, p. 11.

port, adopted with a few amendments, called for the establishment of a Commission on the Accrediting of Schools that consisted of two members from each state: one being the state inspector of high schools who was usually connected with the state university; and the other "a representative of some other college or school belonging to the Association." The Commission was to formulate a uniform blank for reports of high school principals on various phases of their schools and to prepare a uniform certificate blank for admission to college which was to be used by all members of the Association.[150] The minimum standards for accrediting high schools were:

> (1) a four year course of study embracing at least fourteen Carnegie units; (2) three teachers, possessing each a college degree from an approved college, or its equivalent, and giving all their time to high school instruction; (3) recitation periods at least forty minutes in length and a school year of thirty six weeks; (4) buildings, library, and laboratory and other equipment essential for good teaching of the subjects offered. In every case, however, the character of the work done by a school must be the determining factor in accrediting. By personal visits by the inspectors, by detailed reports from the principals, and by the records made by students in college the character of the school's work shall ... be determined.[151]

The two members of the accrediting commission from each state were to prepare a list of the schools in their state which fulfilled the above requirements. Through this method the Association sought to raise the quality of work done in secondary schools

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[150] Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, 1911, pp. 23-24.

[151] Ibid., p. 24.

which of course was important to the maintenance of high academic standards in the colleges. A graduate of any high school on the Association's accredited list was admitted to colleges without examination throughout the South and in most instances the whole country.[152]

Brooks and the state inspector of high schools, N. W. Walker, represented North Carolina on the accrediting commission.[153] In 1912 a third member from each state, representing an accredited secondary school, was added to the commission. Superintendent Edwin Pusey of the Goldsboro City Schools was chosen to represent North Carolina.[154] Brooks worked closely with Chancellor James H. Kirkland in carrying out the plans for accreditation. They cooperated with others in expanding and defining the accrediting requirements. At the meeting of the Association in 1912 Brooks explained the operation of and the differences in the accrediting plan for high schools and the certificating of graduates from such schools.[155] By 1913 ten secondary schools, both private and public, in North Carolina

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[152] Holland Holton, "Establishing and Improving Standards For Secondary Education in the South," Secondary Education in the South, pp. 48-9.

[153] J. H. Kirkland to E. C. Brooks, December 27, 1911, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[154] Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, 1912, pp. 12, 30.

[155] Ibid., pp. 86-92. J. H. Kirkland to E. C. Brooks, January 11, 1912, Brooks Papers (DUL).

were added to the accredited list.[156]

Three years later, when the Association met at Trinity College, Brooks and four other members were appointed to submit a plan for a commission "to undertake the classification of higher institutions of learning."[157] Their plan, submitted in 1917 and adopted after several minor changes, called for the creation of a Commission on Institutions of Higher Education with thirty-nine members representing both colleges and secondary schools. The duty of the Commission was to prepare "a statement of standards to be met by Institutions of Higher Education which were members or prospective members of the Association;" to inspect these schools periodically; and to recommend dismissal of any institution that failed to "measure up to the standards." Brooks was appointed a member of this commission in 1917,[158] and continued to hold this position as long as he remained at Trinity College. He was deeply interested in the whole problem of raising the standards and quality of instruction from the grammar school through college.

Another regional group for the promotion of progress in the South in which Brooks participated was the Southern Sociological Congress that had been established through the benefactions of

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156 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting, 1913, p.25.

157 Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting, 1916, p. 26.

158 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Meeting, 1917, pp. 20-1, 27.

Mrs. C. W. Cole. This body was concerned with the abolition of child labor and the convict lease system, state health programs, compulsory school attendance laws, cooperation of church and social agencies, and a solution "of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races."[159] For three years Brooks was appointed by the governor as the official delegate from North Carolina to the Southern Sociological Congress.[160] One of the sessions attended by Brooks was described as a gathering that "breathed a spirit of prayer and social justice."[161]

While at Trinity College, Brooks also played a prominent role in several state organizations that he had joined earlier. He manifested a particular interest in the work of the State Library Association and the State Association of County Superintendents.[162] He remained an "active member" of the North Carolina Association of City School Superintendents and Principals. In 1909 he presented an address to that group on "The Status of the Graded School in North Carolina." This speech

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159 The Call of the New South: Addresses Delivered at the Southern Sociological Congress. Edited by J. L. McCulloch. (Nashville, 1912), pp. 8-9.

160 W. W. Kitchin to E. C. Brooks, April 8, 1912; Locke Craig to E. C. Brooks, April 5, 1913; Thomas W. Bickett to E. C. Brooks, July 19, 1917, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

161 The Call of the New South, p. 7.

162 See Trinity Chronicle, September 15, 1909; Durham Herald, January 29, 30, 1910.

embodied three of his favorite topics, namely, "the physical and moral condition of the child," the course of study, and the grading of that course. He pleaded for a flexible curriculum geared to the capacities and needs of the children and deplored the widespread existence of "a mere formal memorizing of unintelligent content" by students in graded schools.[163] At the meeting in 1909 Brooks was appointed to a committee of five to investigate "the prevailing course of study" and to recommend "eliminations and adjustments" that would provide "economy of time" and new courses "demanded by new conditions."[164] Through the persistent efforts of such men as Brooks the schools of North Carolina gradually reorganized their courses of study to meet the demands of the twentieth century. Brooks declared: "We should never forget that the subject matter for the schools must come from the life of today. What is past is history, and should be used, of course, but with reference to the life of today."[165] Similar ideas he was to express many times in the future.

Brooks used another organization, the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, to spread his ideas on public schools throughout the state. By 1913 he could say that he had attended fourteen

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163 Proceedings of the North Carolina Association of City Public School Superintendents and Principals, 1909, pp. 18-23.

164 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

165 B. C. Brooks, "Our Educational Institutions," (An Address, c. 1912), Brooks Papers (BLS).

consecutive annual meetings of the Assembly.[166] During that period his name rarely failed to appear on the membership list of at least two important committees. For example, in 1910 he was a member of the platform committee that endorsed the enactment of certification laws and a constitutional amendment for a longer school term. In that year he was also chosen to present the Assembly's platform to the legislature in 1911.[167] Moreover, Brooks was a frequent speaker at the annual meetings of the Assembly. In 1909 he discussed "Home Study For Teachers," emphasizing the failure of teachers to keep their own qualifications abreast with the material development of schools in North Carolina. He outlined in detail home-study courses for teachers based on the plan of his extension work at Trinity College[168] which the Assembly recognized as "a great success."[169]

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166 E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 23, 1913, S. P. I. Correspondence.

167 Proceedings and Addresses of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Session of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, 1910, pp. 11-12.

168 Brooks' home-study courses were divided into three groups: (1) reading, language, and geography for teachers weak in academic training; (2) normal instruction for teachers with adequate scholastic training but lacking professional training and experience; (3) a course in testing, grading, and the use of records designed primarily for school principals. Proceedings of the N. C. Teachers' Assembly, 1909, pp. 217-24. For similar ideas see E. C. Brooks, "By What Standard Shall A School Board Know the Efficiency of the Superintendent," Proceedings of the N. C. Teachers' Assembly, 1915, pp. 291-94; Brooks, "How To Improve the Teacher In Service," Training School Quarterly II (October-December, 1915), pp. 167-71.

169 Proceedings of the N. C. Teachers' Assembly, pp. 71-72.

Brooks was elected president of the Teachers' Assembly for 1912-13 and delivered his inaugural address, entitled "The Need For a New Educational Content," at the annual meeting in Greensboro on November 27, 1912. This address summarized several of his pet ideas on public schools that he had expressed individually on other occasions. "My criticism of the organized school," he began, "is that it is not broad enough to reach all children." He then reiterated his plea for a curriculum that was in harmony "with the great fundamental things of today" and emphasized the necessity for training in physical health and "home-making" as well as the "cultural subjects." Home-making for North Carolina children, of course, referred to instruction in agriculture and home economics. Brooks also insisted that American history must implant in school children an attitude of respect and admiration for the farmer in order to curtain the drift of the population from the country to the city. "It is the purpose of the school," he concluded, "to bring the life of the world in such relationship to the life of the child that he may know how to live."[170]

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[170] E. C. Brooks, "The Need For A New Educational Content," (Presidential Address, Teachers' Assembly, November 27, 1912), Brooks Papers (ECL). While Brooks was president of the Teachers' Assembly, the legislature enacted several important educational measures. Brooks, of course, was not mainly responsible for the legislation, but he had shared in the agitation for the school laws that were passed in 1913. These measures included: an act to provide for a six months school term; the creation of an equalizing fund of $375,000 to increase teachers' salaries and school terms; the establishment of rural life or agricultural high schools; and amendments to

VI

While at Trinity College Brooks actively participated in the civic affairs of Durham and even dabbled in local politics. In 1911 he was elected a trustee of the Durham Public Library to succeed Professor Edwin Mims who left Trinity College to go to the University of North Carolina.[171] Mims had been one of the original sponsors of this library which opened in 1898, "the first library in North Carolina open to the public without payment of dues or fees."[172] In 1911 a professional librarian was employed, the city appropriation was increased, and the need for larger quarters was becoming apparent.[173] Five years later Brooks was a leader in the movement to secure a grant from the Carnegie Corporation for a new library building. Through the persistent efforts of another trustee, Thomas B. Fuller, the Carnegie Corporation agreed to give $32,000 for this purpose, if the city of Durham would provide $4000 annually for the maintenance of the library. The trustees, although not in complete agreement, decided to request the county to share in the annual appropriation. Brooks appeared before

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strengthen the "compulsory" school attendance law. Durham Herald, March 7, 14, 26, 1913; Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, pp. 346-48; Morrison, A Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 13-14.

171 W. D. Carmichael to E. C. Brooks, November 20, 1911, Brooks Papers (DUL).

172 Boyd, Story of Durham, p. 262.

173 Ibid., p. 263.

the county commissioners in behalf of the scheme, and they agreed to pay one third of the annual fund.[174] Although there were complicated legal questions involved, the library trustees finally met all the stipulations of the Carnegie Corporation in June, 1918. Three years later, the new library on East Main Street opened to the public.[175]

On January 21, 1915, Brooks was elected a member of the Durham City Board of Education to succeed General Julian S. Carr.[176] His first assignment in this capacity was to find an architect to rebuild the Morehead School which had been destroyed by fire and to appear before the city aldermen in the interest of a bond issue necessary to cover the building expenses.[177] He later sponsored motions for the improvement of school sanitary facilities, a limitation on the number of pupils per class, and a textbook rental system. All three measures

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[174] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Durham Public Library, June 9, October 6, December 6, 1916. Durham Public Library. Durham, North Carolina. The Minutes prior to 1916 apparently have been destroyed.

[175] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Durham Public Library, February 13, 1917-July 6, 1921; Durham Herald, March 7, 1917.

[176] Minutes of the Board of Education of the City of Durham, January 21, 1915, III, pp. 55-6. Office of the City Superintendent of Public Schools, Durham, North Carolina.

[177] See Minutes of the Board of Education of the City of Durham, May 21-June 3, 1915, September 21, 1915, III, pp. 82-84, 90.

were adopted by the board.[178] Brooks cooperated with City Superintendent Edwin Pusey in solving the problems that arose during the First World War and pushed through a motion to increase teachers' salaries by ten per cent for 1918-1919.[179] One of his last contributions before resigning from the board on January 2, 1919, was to call the members' attention to the fact that the slow collection of taxes forced the schools to pay "from $1200 to $1500 a year in interest on borrowed money to meet current expenses."[180]

During the first World War Brooks joined various local campaigns for the promotion of the war effort. He was a convincing "four minute speaker," his speech to the Durham Home Guard on December 7, 1917, being described as "the best argument yet advanced for arming the Guard in one way or another."[181] He served as chairman of the committee to provide speakers for the campaign to sell Liberty Bonds and later as a director of the Chamber of Commerce promoted all sorts of activities in

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178 Minutes of the Board of Education of the City of Durham, February 4, May 4, September 7, 1916, III, pp. 102, 106, 113.

179 Minutes of the Board of Education of the City of Durham, March 7, April 4, 1918, IV. (This volume has no page numbers).

180 Minutes of the Board of Education of the City of Durham, March 7, 1918, IV.

181 Durham Herald, December 8, 1917.

support of the war effort.[182] In October, 1917, his old friend P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, called him to Washington to assist in the compiling of a monthly bulletin on "Community and National Life" that was to be distributed in public schools as a "part of the general educational campaign for efficiency and preparedness."[183]

Brooks' first personal entry into politics occurred on April 11, 1913, when he announced his candidacy for the Durham board of aldermen. On the previous day a group of citizens from the first ward had prevailed upon him to enter the race.[184] The Durham Herald, lavish in its praise, declared: "Prof. Brooks is the type of man that the city should have on the board of aldermen and it is believed that his candidacy will meet with the favor of the Democrats of the city. He is one of the recognized leaders in the educational life of the state, a man of national reputation along some lines, and a wide-awake and public-spirited citizen."[185] Brooks was elected with 1322 votes from the first ward without opposition.[186] He was

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[182] Durham Herald, February 1, 1918; Annual Report of the Durham Chamber of Commerce, September 1, 1919, p. 4. Brooks was also a member of the local Rotary Club and a director of the Durham Building and Loan Association. State School Facts [Brooks Issue], XIX (July, 1947).

[183] Trinity Chronicle, October 24, 1917.

[184] Durham Herald, April 11, 1913; Julian S. Carr to E. C. Brooks, April 25, 1913, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[185] Durham Herald, April 11, 1913.

[186] Durham Herald, April 27, 1913.

promptly made chairman of the committee on the reorganization of city government and set in motion several schemes for reorganization.[187] However, he did not remain to see the completion of the project. On July 1, 1913, two months after his election he resigned in order to go to Columbia University and was succeeded by Dean W. I. Cranford of Trinity College.[188]

After returning to Durham in 1914, Brooks resumed his interest in municipal and state politics. He was mentioned as a candidate for Congress against Major Charles Stedman, the perennial representative from the fifth district. But Brooks possessed enough political sagacity not to risk a contest with a Confederate veteran.[189] In the fall of 1916 he aided Victor Bryant and R. O. Everett, two local attorneys, in the organization of a Wilson-Bickett Club in Durham. Brooks greatly admired President Woodrow Wilson about whom he had just written a book and strongly endorsed Thomas A. Bickett, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in 1916.[190] He had become personally acquainted with Bickett through Mrs. Brooks' brother Oscar Sapp[191] and apparently cultivated his friendship.[192] In 1917

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187 Durham Herald, June 28, 1913.

188 W. J. Brogden to E. C. Brooks, July 2, 1913, Brooks Papers (DUL); Durham Herald, July 22, 1913.

189 Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; Durham Herald, December 22, 1918.

190 Durham Herald, September 22, 1916.

191 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

192 Durham Herald, February 17, 21, 23, 1917.

Brooks again became involved in municipal politics when he was seriously considered as a successor to Mayor B. S. Skinner who died on October 12, 1917. The board of aldermen, however, finally chose M. F. Newsome, Jr. to fill Skinner's unexpired term.[193]

VII

It is not surprising that a man of Brooks' personality, energy, and ability should be honored in various ways and tempted by greener pastures elsewhere. Fortunate was Trinity College that he received the honors but withstood the temptations. Within five years after coming to Trinity as the first incumbent of the chair in the History and Science of Education, Brooks had established himself in the field of education. His reputation was based upon his pioneer efforts in extension work, his classroom influence, his broad experience in the public schools, his leadership in educational organizations, his writings, and his teachers' magazine. By this time he was also widely known as a masterful raconteur--an ability that he utilized skillfully in winning friends. These accomplishments and personal characteristics would obviously

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[193] Brooks insisted that he did not desire the position of mayor, but the Durham Herald predicted that he would be nominated and elected at the last minute. Actually three aldermen did cast their votes for him. Durham Herald, October 24, 25, 1917; November 6, 1917.

bring him attractive offers from a variety of sources.

In 1912 Commissioner P. P. Claxton requested him to accept a position in the federal Bureau of Education, dealing with "schools in small cities." Brooks promptly refused the offer.[194] As mentioned elsewhere, Bruce Payne attempted to lure him to George Peabody College in the following year. While at Columbia University, Brooks also declined an offer of the superintendency of the state School for the Feeble-Minded at Kinston, a position which paid $3000 and provided a house.[195] A year later President J. I. Foust asked him to accept the chairmanship of the department of education in the State Normal and Industrial College, but he declined this too.[196] In 1918, however, he seriously considered the possibility of becoming superintendent of the city schools of Atlanta, Georgia, and State Superintendent Joyner agreed to write him a "strong" letter of recommendation. The Atlanta board of education finally decided to retain the incumbent.[197]

In 1916 Dr. D. H. Hill resigned as president of North Caro-

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194 P. P. Claxton to E. C. Brooks, August 17, 1912; E. C. Brooks to P. P. Claxton, August 17, 1912, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

195 R. D. W. Connor to E. C. Brooks, February 2, 1914, Brooks Papers (DUL).

196 J. I. Foust to E. C. Brooks, April 24, 1915, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

197 E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, July 16, 1918; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, July 20, 1918; E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, July 23, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence.

lina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. One member of the college board of trustees asked Brooks to permit his name to be considered for the position.[198] After discussing the matter with several friends, Brooks declared: "If the trustees, after a careful investigation, are convinced that I am equal to the task that must engage all the energies of the president-elect, and if the faculty should look with no uncertain favor upon my election, then I am willing to be considered for this important position."[199] Two months later, O. Max Gardner, a prominent alumnus and trustee of the college, wrote Brooks: "I have known of your great work for many years, and I do not hesitate to say that ... you would make an admirable president of the college ... I hope sometime to know you better, and I want to say that you may rely upon me to render any service within my power."[200] Several other trustees were favorable to Brooks' election.[201] On April 14, 1916, the board of trustees began deliberations on a successor to Dr. Hill. There were thirty-seven men proposed for the position. The

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198 W. H. Ragan to E. C. Brooks, February 11, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

199 E. C. Brooks to W. H. Ragan, February 17, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

200 O. Max Gardner to E. C. Brooks, April 20, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

201 _____ Haynes to D. F. Giles, February 19, 1916; O. Max Gardner to D. F. Giles, February 10, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

board finally chose Professor W. C. Riddick of the faculty as president.[202] Brooks had to wait seven years before he assumed the helm of this institution.

Two of those years he remained at Trinity College pursuing his numerous activities. During that time Governor Bickett appointed him to the State Educational Commission, a group to study the conditions of public education in the state and to make recommendations to the legislature. Brooks was vice-chairman of the Commission.[203] In 1918 he was appointed state director of the National Education Association.[204] In the same year Davidson College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature in recognition of his literary works.[205] A few months later Governor Bickett appointed him State Superintendent of Public Instruction to succeed J. Y. Joyner who resigned on December 21, 1918.[206] Brooks assumed his new duties ten days later, reluctantly leaving his circle of close friends at Trinity College. Bishop Kilgo wrote him:

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202 Durham Herald, April 15, 1916; May 3, 1916.

203 E. C. Brooks to Governor T. W. Bickett, February 6, 1919, Governors' Papers, State Department of Archives and History of North Carolina; Faculty Committee, "Robert Herring Wright," East Carolina Teachers' College Bulletin XXIX (December, 1938), pp. 72-3.

204 State School Facts [Brooks Issue], XIX (July, 1947).

205 Alumni Catalogue of Davidson College, 1837-1924. Edited by Thomas Lingle, W. J. Martin, and Frederick Hengeveld. (Charlotte, 1924), p. 207.

206 J. Y. Joyner to Governor T. W. Bickett, December 21, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence.

"I asked you to come to Trinity College because I needed your ministry in the college and in the state, and I did it because I knew it would be a ministry founded in wisdom, energy, and righteousness. The years only demonstrated my judgment. From you I have received a multitude of kindnesses and had with you a most blessed fellowship."[207] Both Brooks and his wife considered their years in Durham "the happiest period" of their lives,[208] and continued to maintain a close relationship with the Trinity College officials and faculty. Theirs was a bond of mutual confidence and assistance. In June, 1920 the college bestowed upon him the degree, Doctor of Laws,[209] an honor that was duplicated by the University of North Carolina one year later.[210]

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207 J. C. Kilgo to E. C. Brooks, December 24, 1913, Brooks Papers (DUL).

208 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

209 Minutes of the Faculty of Trinity College, April 15, May 6, 1920.

210 Alumni Directory, University of North Carolina, 1795-1953. Compiled and edited by the Alumni Office (Chapel Hill, 1954), p. 104.

Chapter V

EDITOR OF AN EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL

1906—1923

Throughout his career as professor of education in Trinity College Brooks edited a magazine for North Carolina teachers. He was appointed editor in 1906, and under his guidance the magazine managed to survive longer than any comparable periodical in the history of the state. Between 1874 and 1906 at least eight educational journals were published in North Carolina, but most of these publications found the struggle too difficult and gave up the fight within a few years.[1] In 1897 P. P. Claxton and Clinton Toms established and edited the North Carolina Journal of Education at Greensboro which in 1901 be-

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[1] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 364; Ruth Groom, "North Carolina Journals of Education," North Carolina Education VIII (May, 1914), pp. 8-10, 15.

came the Atlantic Educational Journal published in Richmond, Dallas, and St. Louis with Claxton as editor.[2] North Carolina at this time was left without an educational journal for the next five years, the period of Aycock's campaign for better schools.

During these years there was considerable discussion about the establishment of another journal devoted to public education. The leader in this movement was Henry E. Seeman, a Canadian by birth who had manifested interest in educational publications in North Carolina for more than a decade.[3] Though a printer by trade, he attended the annual sessions of the Teachers' Assembly and persisted in his efforts to persuade that organization to sponsor a journal. Finally, Seeman offered to finance and publish a teachers' magazine, if the educational forces of the state would promise to support it. In 1905 the State Association of County Superintendents which was actually a department of the Teachers' Assembly fully endorsed Seeman's idea and within a comparatively short time other departments of the Teachers' Assembly, especially the city superintendents and the high schools and academies, pledged their support to Seeman's enterprise.[4]

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[2] Charles L. Lewis, Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education (Knoxville, 1948), pp. 98-109.

[3] Boyd, Story of Durham, pp. 253-54.

[4] E. C. Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (May, 1917), pp. 17-8. E. D. Fowler, The Seeman Printery:

In July, 1906, a committee representing various departments of the Teachers' Assembly met in Raleigh to hear Seeman explain the details of his proposition. He reiterated his desire to publish and finance a teachers' journal, if the Assembly would assist in securing subscriptions. Moreover, the committee from the Assembly was to select an editor. It was agreed that Seeman would become financial manager. The committee also created an advisory editorial board headed by State Superintendent Joyner. They then turned to the matter of selecting an editor. Brooks, who had been in Raleigh earlier that summer lecturing at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, had undoubtedly discussed the whole question of an educational journal with Joyner and probably had expressed his willingness to accept the editorship. Brooks of course possessed experience in journalism, having worked for the News and Observer and the Wilson Mirror. This experience coupled with Joyner's approval and his own reputation among school men were the major factors influencing the committee's selection of him as editor of the new North Carolina Journal of Education that was to be published bi-weekly in Durham by Seeman. Brooks was to receive a salary of $1200, and the committee requested him to give up the superintendency of the Goldsboro Schools in June, 1907, in order to devote

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Fifty Years, 1885-1935 (Durham, 1935). See also "Two Score Years and Ten: A Half Century of Educational Journalism," North Carolina Education (Fiftieth Anniversary) XXIII (September, 1956), p. 17.

his entire time to editorial work.[5]

Brooks and Seeman "spent the greater part of July and August making plans for the new publication."[6] In early September, 1906, Miss Nettie Allen, a supervising teacher at the State Normal and Industrial College, moved to Goldsboro to assist Brooks in the editorial work.[7] The first issue of the North Carolina Journal of Education appeared on September 15, 1906. The subscription rate was one dollar per year. The magazine possessed a rather impressive format; the cover contained the title and a lamp of knowledge surrounded by ornate scrollwork at the top and the table of contents at the bottom. The Journal was divided into several departments including articles of especial interest to county and city superintendents, primary teachers, the Woman's Association For the Betterment of School Buildings and Grounds, and teachers in high schools, academies, and colleges. Other sections were devoted to "educational

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[5] E. C. Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (May, 1917), pp. 17-8; Goldsboro Daily Argus, July 23, 1906; "1906-1956," North Carolina Education [Fiftieth Anniversary Issue], XXIII (September, 1956), p. 16. Apparently Brooks' papers relating to the educational journal have been destroyed. Mr. E. D. Fowler, president of the Seeman Printery permitted me to search his old files, but nothing of value was uncovered. Personal inquiries at the headquarters of the North Carolina Education Association in Raleigh, the present owner of the magazine, failed to reveal the whereabouts of any Brooks' manuscripts regarding the publication. The Brooks Papers in Duke University Library contain very few pertinent items.

[6] E. C. Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (May, 1917), p. 18.

[7] Goldsboro Daily Argus, August 31, 1906.

method," current events, feature articles, and personal items. Brooks announced that in addition to these regular departments, a series of articles by experienced teachers on English, geography, nature study, and physics would be published from time to time. Joyner was able to print announcements and communications in the section reserved for the State Department of Public Instruction.[8]

In the first issue of the Journal Brooks stated the purpose and editorial policy which he would consistently support for the next seventeen years:

> The policy of the Journal is, and will continue, to do everything possible to advance the cause of education, to call attention to work that is well done, and to discuss problems that are giving the teachers most concern. We believe the profession should be improved by raising the standards of teachers and that a high grade certificate should command a high salary in any county. In order to provide opportunities for the improvement of teachers we believe each county should establish free township and county high schools. We believe the State should provide for a longer school term by so amending the constitution that the County Commissioners may levy sufficient tax for better houses and longer terms. We believe further that after the State opens its doors to the children, they should be compelled to enter, especially the smaller children who are too small to work, and all who are unable to read and write.[9]

Brooks gave more explicit expression to this policy in his first

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[8] See North Carolina Journal of Education I (September 15, 1906); "Two Score Years and Ten: A Half Century of Educational Journalism," North Carolina Education XXIII (September, 1956), pp. 17, 44.

[9] North Carolina Journal of Education I (September 15, 1906), p. 12.

editorial comments. The lead editorial, entitled "Is the School Term Long Enough," declared that "the average length of schooling for the country child is about three years of four months each." Brooks dismissed as absurd the idea that the state was financially unable to provide better schools and longer terms for rural children, and declared that the first remedial step was to amend the constitution in order that the counties could levy taxes sufficient to meet the demands of rural education. In another editorial he urged the county boards of education to enlarge the county superintendents' powers of supervision of local schools. A third editorial, concerning "The Personnel of the Teaching Profession," deplored the rapid turnover of teachers which, according to Brooks, was the result of appallingly low salaries. Brooks wrote: "The number of male teachers is growing less and less each year. They are paid higher wages as carpenters and mechanics."[10]

During its first year of existence the Journal largely continued the "departmental" arrangement of the initial issue. Brooks also hammered away on such themes as longer school terms, qualified teachers, and higher salaries. He described the pathetic plight of rural schools which were kept open about three months each year and whose qualified teachers "flocked to wealthier counties."[11] He demanded a public high school in each

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[10] Ibid.

[11] North Carolina Journal of Education I (October 15, 1906), p. 8.

township in order to provide a "training ground to prepare a sufficient number of teachers for the entire public schools." In almost every editorial he concluded that the basic problem of public education in North Carolina was "the lack of money."[12] He attributed this shortcoming to the defects of a Reconstruction constitution and to the decisions of the State Supreme Court in 1870 and 1885 which refused to consider public schools as a "necessary expense." In 1906 the court still held that county officials could not exceed the constitutional tax limitation in providing for the constitutional school term of four months.[13] According to Brooks, it was high time the legislature and the people rectified these "ancient decisions" of the Supreme Court by constitutional amendments increasing the school term and removing the tax limitation for educational purposes.[14]

Immediately prior to the opening of the legislature of 1907 Brooks increased the tempo of his editorial campaign for various reform measures. He insisted that the state possessed adequate wealth to equalize and raise educational opportunities in the several counties and to establish a minimum salary for

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[12] North Carolina Journal of Education I (November 1, 1906), p. 10.

[13] See Charles L. Coon, "School Support and Our North Carolina Courts," North Carolina Historical Review III (July, 1926), pp. 403-5, 412-7.

[14] North Carolina Journal of Education I (October 15, 1906), p. 8; Ibid., I (December 1, 1906), p. 10.

teachers with first grade certificates.[15] In requesting the legislature to "consider anew the question of education," he presented statistics showing that one fourth of the children in the state did not have advantage of the minimum school term of four months required by the Constitution. He wrote: "Those who have taken an active part in the educational campaign of the past few years have seen one or two land owners in a district exercise authority over his tenants whose children ought to be in school, and turn the election against schools, saying ... that education for these is not a 'necessary expense,' and the children had better work in the fields--yes 130,620 of them."[16] For Brooks this "crime" against rural children was little different from child labor in factories. He also implored the legislators to establish normal schools and high schools in order to insure competent teachers for the elementary grades. He heartily endorsed legislative measures to increase the State Superintendent's salary and to enforce school attendance.[17]

In 1907 Brooks threw the support of the Journal behind a measure declaring public schools a necessary expense and requiring counties to levy a tax sufficient to maintain at least

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[15] North Carolina Journal of Education I (December 1, 1906), p. 10.

[16] North Carolina Journal of Education I (January 1, 1907), p. 12.

[17] North Carolina Journal of Education I (March 1, 1907), p. 4; Ibid., I (March 15, 1907), pp. 4, 9.

a four months term in every school. The defeat of this act brought him great disappointment, and he declared that the fear of an "extra tax" had frightened the legislators. Nevertheless, he urged the teachers and school officials of the state to keep such a law before the people until the legislature met in 1909 at which time he thought it would stand the test of the Supreme Court. He supported Joyner in opposing a bill to elect county boards of education by popular vote. In view of the fact that many people in the state then did "not even believe in education at all," Brooks insisted that to place the boards of education into the hands of "active politicians" would destroy the educational progress made since 1901. This bill was defeated, because the Democrats were yet unwilling to endanger their power over such local offices.[18] Despite certain disappointments, Brooks concluded that the legislature of 1907 had taken "no backward steps" and had left the schools "considerably stronger."[19] Later in the same year the State Supreme Court reversed the Barksdale decision of 1885 and declared that county school officials could exceed the constitutional limitation in levying taxes for the maintenance of the four months school term.[20]

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[18] North Carolina Journal of Education I (March 1, 1907), p. 4; Ibid., I (March 15, 1907), pp. 4,9.

[19] North Carolina Journal of Education I (April 1, 1907), p. 8.

[20] Coon, "School Support and Our North Carolina Courts," North Carolina Historical Review III (July, 1926), pp. 412-17.

When Brooks became professor of education in Trinity College in 1907, he retained his position as editor of the North Carolina Journal of Education.[21] The move to Durham made it possible for him and Seeman to work more closely and conveniently on the publication. By that time, however, it appeared that the Journal would suffer the dismal fate of its predecessors. Brooks declared that subscriptions "came in so slowly that one would think that the teachers of the state had no interest in the publication."[22] Moreover, so few were the number of advertizing contracts that they "were kept on one page of the ledger." Although in December, 1906 Brooks had refused to accept further pay for his work as editor, by the end of the first year of publication there was a deficit of $2000. The magazine probably would have expired had it not been in the hands of such men as Seeman and Brooks, who saw in it something more than a financial investment. Both men had "faith" in the publication. Seeman told Brooks, "We will make it go."[23] In October, 1907, Brooks appeared before the Association of County Superintendents in behalf of the Journal. He described its "unsound financial condition" and declared that 6000 subscriptions were necessary to save it. Each superintendent

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21 Boyd, Story of Durham, p. 254.

22 Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (October, 1917), p. 17.

23 Ibid.

promised to solicit a certain number of subscriptions from his county.[24] Brooks also persuaded Seeman to publish the magazine monthly instead of bi-weekly and to retain the original price of one dollar. Through these means and increased advertizing receipts the Journal reduced its deficit to $500 in 1908.[25]

From 1907 until 1909 Brooks continued to crusade for a progressive educational program through his editorial columns. In May, 1907, he was again writing about the length of the school term and speaking in terms of "four or five months" as a minimum term for rural children.[26] After the passage of the high school law in the same year the Journal increased the number of articles of interest and value to secondary school officials and teachers. Brooks urged county school officials to take full advantage of the law of 1907, but warned against overloading the high school curriculum with textbooks and rote memory work. In this connection he pointed out the necessity for qualified teachers. He insisted that the material progress and popular support of public education had advanced much more rapidly than that other essential ingredient to efficient schools--the training of teachers. He declared that most

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[24] North Carolina Journal of Education II (October, 1907), p. 17.

[25] Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (May, 1917), pp. 17-8.

[26] North Carolina Journal of Education I (May 15, 1907), p. 9.

teachers were plodding along in "the old ways" adding nothing new to their classroom instruction, and he urged as a partial remedy a more efficient corps of county superintendents who would personally supervise the work of the teachers and encourage in-service training.[27]

In November, 1908, Brooks answered the attacks of certain church groups who opposed the state high school law on the grounds that it was detrimental to denominational secondary schools. He declared that state control of education could be traced to Martin Luther and that it was not "how far the state shall educate, but how much education can an individual receive." He argued that the separation of church and state necessitated state control of education, and the destruction of the state's schools was not a part of the church's mission. Moreover, Brooks asserted that the chief claim of the church on education lay in the state's neglect of its duty in the past. The church lacked adequate resources to finance high schools, and denominational rivalries were not conducive to educational efficiency. "Religious instruction," he concluded "does not depend upon church control and ownership of the school any more than a religious people depend upon a theocracy."[28] This was a rather strong editorial for a professor

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[27] North Carolina Journal of Education II (February, 1908), pp. 14-16; Ibid., II (March, 1908), pp. 5-7.

[28] North Carolina Journal of Education III (November, 1908), pp. 14-16. See also an editorial entitled "Our State Educational Policy," North Carolina Christian Advocate LIII (Octo-

in a Methodist college to direct to one of the leading Methodist journals in the state.

II

By the end of the third year of publication the North Carolina Journal of Education had paid off its debt and become self-supporting. In December, 1908 Seeman announced that he had sold the magazine to W. F. Marshall of Raleigh, a printer and former teacher. It was moved to Raleigh shortly thereafter, and the name was changed to North Carolina Education in January, 1909. Brooks remained editor and purchased half interest in the journal late in 1910.[29] At the end of the fourth year Brooks announced that the financial basis of the magazine continued to improve but was "yet unsatisfactory."[30] In 1910 the paid monthly circulation had risen to 1400 copies. This fell to

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ber 15, 1908), p. 1. This editorial declared that North Carolina was "far from being ready" for the state high schools and fully agreed with Charity and Children, a Baptist journal, which considered them detrimental to denominational secondary schools.

[29] North Carolina Journal of Education III (December, 1908), p. 1; Brooks, "Henry E. Seeman," North Carolina Education XI (May, 1917), pp. 17-18; Groom, "North Carolina Journals of Education," North Carolina Education VIII (May, 1914), p. 15; "Two Score Years and Ten," North Carolina Education XXIII (September, 1956), p. 44.

[30] North Carolina Education V (September, 1911), p. 2.

1200 in the following year, but rose to 1600 in 1912.[31] Brooks and Marshall, as editor and publisher respectively, maintained the arrangement of 1910 until August 1, 1919.

One of the principal handicaps to the development of education in North Carolina was that a large percentage of the public school teachers lacked normal school training. In 1908, for example, two thirds of the teachers in the state lacked any such training. At a meeting of the Association of County Superintendents on August 1, 1909, the State Supervisor of Teacher Training, J. A. Bivins, outlined a plan called the North Carolina Teachers' Reading Circle. It was designed "to furnish from year to year a carefully selected course of reading adapted to the professional needs of the teacher." Among the Reading Circle books for 1909-1910 were Hamilton's Recitation, Dinsmore's Teaching a District School, McMurry's How to Study, and Tennyson's Idyls of the King. At the end of each year the members of the Reading Circle took an examination on the books that was prepared by the State Supervisor of Teacher Training and given by the county superintendents. The successful completion of a four year course in Reading Circle work entitled the teacher to a diploma issued by the State Department of Public Instruction. A teacher with such a diploma usually received preferential treatment regarding jobs and salaries.

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31 W. F. Marshall to A. C. Brooks, September 19, 1913, Brooks Papers (LWL).

Also, the county superintendents were "advised to renew, free of cost, the first grade certificate to all who are members of the reading circle and County Association."[32]

Brooks attended the meeting of the county superintendents in 1909 and participated in the discussion of the Reading Circle program. In the October issue of North Carolina Education he began the Reading Circle work with a treatment of Hamilton's Recitation.[33] He was requested to undertake this work by Joyner and Bivins because of his experience along similar lines with Durham County teachers.[34] Apparently, his direction of the Reading Circle was intended at first to be temporary, but he continued to supervise it for a decade, which suggests that the state officials considered his work of a superior quality.[35] Since the magazine was only published monthly, Brooks divided each lesson on The Recitation into weekly assignments several of which appeared in each issue of North Carolina Education. He undoubtedly utilized much of the material of his Trinity College extension course, and in that way extended his influence in raising the qualifications

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[32] Report of the Supervisor of Teacher-Training, 1908-1910, pp. 112-4.

[33] North Carolina Education IV (October, 1909), pp. 16-17.

[34] Trinity Chronicle, October 20, 1909.

[35] See Reading Circle Course in North Carolina Education from 1909-1919.

of teachers all over the state.[36] His weekly assignments carried outlines of and questions on the portion of the particular book under discussion. More than half of the 11,915 teachers in North Carolina were members of the Reading Circle.[37] State Superintendent Joyner rarely failed to compliment Brooks' work in his biennial reports to the Governor. In 1912 he declared: "North Carolina Education, our official state teachers' magazine, is heartily cooperating and rendering valuable assistance in carrying out this work [Reading Circle]."[38] In the same year Joyner approved Brooks' Story of Cotton as a Reading Circle book.[39]

In addition to this reading program, the columns of North Carolina Education carried a variety of information and suggestions valuable to the teacher. Brooks published articles on the teaching of history which were based upon his work with the Committee of Eight in revising the elementary school courses in history.[40] Moreover, he frequently included descriptions of efficient programs and successful innovations in certain county and city school systems. Apparently he had a great

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36 See W. T. Laprade, "History of Trinity College," pp. 23-4; Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, 1915, pp. 6-7.

37 Report of the Supervisor of Teacher-Training, 1908-1910, p. 114.

38 Biennial Report, 1910-1912, p. 10.

39 Report of the Supervisor of Teacher-Training, 1910-1912, p. 79.

40 North Carolina Education IV (October, 1909), p. 8.

faith in the power of example and publicized these "model" school programs, particularly of Durham County, with a view toward arousing other areas to benefit by their success. In the same way he seemed to believe that publicity of glaring educational defects would elicit a public indignation strong enough to demand remedial measures. In various ways Brooks' journal stimulated a professional spirit, an esprit de corps, among North Carolina teachers.[41] It is obviously impossible to determine his influence in this direction. But the elevation of the professional status of the teacher was a frequent theme and actually underlay many of his editorials on other subjects.

In September, 1910, Brooks published his personal observations on the progress of teacher training in the past decade. After eight years of summer institute work, he reported: "There is to be found considerable improvement in the professional spirit of teachers and county superintendents. There are, of course, more than one thousand local tax districts. These as a rule draw teachers of superior training, who, mingling with other teachers of the state, have made a better spirit and there is a greater incentive to progress." Despite these improvements, he also observed several inexcusable defects. For example, some county superintendents confined their work to a "little clerical work;" many teachers did not own the text-

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[41] Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina, p. 303.

books required by law and did "not know the lessons when they go to class;" and summer institutes still concentrated upon grammar and arithmetic at the expense of geography, literature, and history. "These conditions existed more widely ten years ago," he concluded, "but they exist to day and are a barrier to the progress of education."[42]

Between 1909 and 1913 Brooks waged a vigorous campaign for several educational measures. His purpose was to gain support for certain school legislation among officials and teachers who would in turn arouse the people. One measure that he championed with vigor and persistence was a legislative provision for agricultural instruction in public schools. He had first published his ideas on this subject in the News and Observer in 1902. By 1909 he was waging an editorial campaign for farm-life schools. He opened the columns of North Carolina Education to the editor of the Progressive Farmer[43] and to a professor at the state agricultural college, who wrote articles endorsing the establishment of farm-life schools. Professor F. L. Stevens of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts suggested a blending of agriculture and the regular subjects in the elementary schools through a program

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[42] E. C. Brooks, "Progress in Teaching--Some Notes and Observations," North Carolina Education V (September, 1910), pp.6-7.

[43] E. E. Miller, "What a Country Boy Has a Right to Expect of His Teacher," North Carolina Education, IV (November, 1909), p. 4.

of supplementary reading.[44] Brooks also publicized the work of the Boys' Corn Clubs, a movement sponsored in the South by Dr. Seaman Knapp in 1908 and financed by the General Education Board.[45] The clubs, enrolling over 3000 members in North Carolina in 1911, were usually conducted in connection with local schools and were under the general direction of State Supervisor I. O. Schaub.[46] The purpose of the clubs was to introduce scientific methods of agriculture to future farmers and to increase the productivity of the soil. Prizes and free trips were awarded boys whose land yielded unusually large quantities of corn.[47] Brooks considered this competition "a significant educational contest," and pointed to the work of the corn clubs as the first step toward incorporating "scientific agriculture" into the public school curriculum.[48] The movement for agricultural education was also supported by the Farmers' Union and the educational organizations of the

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[44] F. L. Stevens, "The Development of Nature Study and Its Relation to Agriculture," North Carolina Education IV (December, 1909), pp. 8-9; Stevens, "Agriculture in the Public Elementary Schools," Ibid IV (June, 1910), pp. 3, 26.

[45] North Carolina Education IV (January, 1910), p. 9; Ibid., IV (February, 1910), pp. 21-22. See also Frederick B. Mumford, The Land Grant College Movement, (Columbia, Mo., 1940), pp. 133-34.

[46] Biennial Report 1910-1912, p. 12.

[47] See E. C. Brooks, The Story of Corn and the Westward Migration (Chicago, 1910), pp. 259, 263-65.

[48] North Carolina Education IV (January, 1910), p. 9.

state.[49] In 1911 the legislature provided for the establishment of ten farm-life schools largely as a result of this agitation. In describing this act Brooks wrote: "It should set a new era in farm life and convince the farmer that North Carolina soil is capable of almost unlimited improvement."[50] He continued his editorial campaign for farm-life schools and for "the placing of agricultural and domestic science classes in rural high schools." The legislature of 1913 extended the provisions of the act of 1911 to include the establishment of farm-life schools in every county in the state.[51]

Another educational innovation that Brooks endorsed was the establishment of a "professional textbook commission." In 1911 he directed an editorial to Governor W. W. Kitchin requesting him to support such a reform.[52] Brooks pointed out that the State Board of Education consistently rejected the textbooks "recommended" by the sub-textbook commission composed of professional school men.[53] At the same time Joyner pleaded with the legislators to amend the law in order that teachers could be represented on the Textbook Commission, which

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[49] North Carolina Education IV (March, 1910), p. 19; Ibid., V (October, 1910), pp. 6-7.

[50] North Carolina Education V (May, 1911), p. 11.

[51] Biennial Report 1912-1914, p. 17; North Carolina Education VII (January, 1913), p. 3.

[52] North Carolina Education V (March, 1911), p. 15.

[53] North Carolina Education V (February, 1911), pp. 4-5.

then consisted of the members of the State Board of Education.[54] The legislature of 1911, following the advice of Joyner and Brooks, provided that in addition to the seven members of the State Board of Education, six professional school men should be appointed to the Textbook Commission. Since Joyner was already a member, this act gave the professional school men a majority on the Commission.[55]

One of Brooks' favorite editorial topics was the office of the county superintendent. He considered the position the fulcrum of the public educational system and at the same time one of the weakest links in the whole structure. In his critique of a "good superintendent," he declared that such men "should know how to teach and how to teach well," but above all, they should possess "the saving grace of common sense and should be able to judge good teaching, not so much from the standpoint of so-called theoretical pedagogy, as from the effect of the instruction on the child." The superintendent, of course, must be an efficient administrator and business manager fully acquainted with school law and finance. Brooks also believed that he should remain "long enough in a community to work out something worthwhile."[56] Brooks decried the fact that many county superintendents were political appointees who devoted only part of their time to school work. They failed

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[54] Biennial Report, 1908-1910, pp. 18-20.

[55] Biennial Report, 1910-1912, p. 15.

[56] North Carolina Education V (June, 1911), p. 15.

to provide that county supervision so essential to an efficient school system and offered no assistance to teachers desiring professional improvement.[57] In 1913 he requested the legislature to remedy this situation by requiring all superintendents to possess at least the requirements of a first grade elementary certificate.[58] The General Assembly of that year would not go as far as Brooks suggested, but it did provide that a superintendent must have taught during the five years immediately preceding his election.[59]

Perhaps Brooks' most vigorous editorial campaign in North Carolina Education was in behalf of the six months school term. In March, 1909, he called for support from teachers who wanted longer terms of service and higher salaries and from parents who favored better training for their children. He urged a crusade to amend the constitution to provide a minimum term of six months.[60] From then on, rare was the issue of North Carolina Education that did not carry an article or editorial on the six months term. Brooks intensified his campaign for such legislation in the fall of 1912, an indication that he thought that the next legislature would be receptive to the existing agitation. In November, 1912, he wrote: "It

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[57] North Carolina Education V (September, 1910), pp. 6-7; Ibid., VII (May, 1913), p. 15.

[58] North Carolina Education VII (January, 1913), p. 3.

[59] North Carolina Education VII (April, 1913), pp. 5-6.

[60] North Carolina Education III (March, 1909), p. 13.

is apparent to all that the public school term in a large number of counties is too short. In fact, a four months term is so short that pupils will forget in the remaining eight months what they learned in the four months ... The minimum term should be moved up to six months within the next year and every teacher in North Carolina should become interested enough to make this a live issue in every county. The General Assembly will meet in January, But between now and then teachers and school officers could bring this need home to those who will represent the counties in the next General Assembly."[61] Brooks later suggested that the legislature provide an additional tax of five cents on each $100 valuation of property in order to increase the school term six months.[62] The legislature of 1913 followed his advice both in providing a six months term and a five cents tax which yielded $375,000.[63] This amount would hardly insure a six months term in all schools--a fact which the legislature recognized. Moreover, the constitutional minimum was still four months. In short, Brooks and his cohorts had won only the first round in their fight for a longer school term. In fact, he had to continue

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[61] North Carolina Education VI (November, 1912), p. 19.

[62] See editorials in North Carolina Education VII (January, 1913), pp. 3, 5; Ibid., VII (February, 1913), pp. 1-2.

[63] Morrison, A Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 13-14. In 1912-1913 Brooks was president of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly which was strongly in favor of the longer school term and larger tax.

his efforts until 1918 when the people of North Carolina finally ratified a constitutional amendment providing for a minimum term of six months.

Brooks exhibited courage in his editorials on many occasions. His bold criticisms of the courts and of many of the accepted educational practices and his rebuttal to the attack on the public high schools by a Methodist publication serve as examples of this fearlessness. Even more significant was his defense in 1909 of Charles L. Coon, Superintendent of the Wilson County and City Schools, who had described in an address the unequal division of school taxes between Negroes and whites. Coon concluded by insisting that Negro education was not a burden upon the white taxpayers. With the News and Observer taking the lead, many North Carolina newspapers opened an attack on Coon. Brooks' position was that although he had not fully agreed with Coon at the time of the address, he did agree that "the negro school is not a very great burden on the white race." He complimented the Wilson school officials for supporting Coon and declared: "It is refreshing to be assured that the members were not swept off their feet by the hysterics of the crowd."[64]

While Brooks was at Columbia University in 1913-1914, he continued to edit North Carolina Education with the assistance

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[64] North Carolina Education IV (November, 1909), p. 14. In 1907 Brooks described Charles L. Coon as "one of the best school men in the state," who was often unpopular because of "his plain language." E. C. Brooks to F. A. Woodward, April 20, 1907, Charles L. Coon Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

of S. S. Alderman, executive secretary of the Central Campaign Committee. He still provided the monthly installments of the Reading Circle course.[65] He also published two significant articles concerning teacher education and the high school curriculum. In the first article he decried the existing tendency of summer institutes in North Carolina to emphasize "method courses" at the expense of courses providing the teacher with "a working knowledge of the school subjects." In his opinion it was absurd to offer instruction "in the general method of conducting a recitation" to teachers without adequate preparation in such subjects as literature, geography, and history. He believed that institute conductors had to apply educational theory to practical situations before their instruction would become worthwhile.[66] In the second article, concerning the high school curriculum, he reiterated his demand for a broad and flexible course of study asserting that the "existing emphasis upon the curriculum with its 'points' and 'credits' and pages to be covered, its arbitrary standards, and its logical balance of studies, has gone far to obscure the real meaning of education as a process of choosing and applying those things that will secure the strongest and most profitable reaction in

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[65] North Carolina Education VIII (September, 1913), pp. 16-17; Ibid., VIII (January, 1914), pp. 14-15.

[66] E. C. Brooks, "A Word As to Teacher Training," North Carolina Education VIII (June, 1914), pp. 6-7.

the child."[67] He placed the major responsibility for the rigid high school curriculum, "wrongly conceived and wrongly used," upon the colleges. In his discussion of the course of study he declared: "No study or group of studies has any importance for its own sake; its value assists a teacher in bringing a pupil into those relations with his environment that are agreeable, stimulating, and promising for him personally and profitable to society. The curriculum should include any body of knowledge that can be successfully organized to this end."[68]

III

When Brooks returned to Durham in 1914 after a year at Columbia University and a summer at Peabody College, North Carolina stood ready to launch another round in its fight to advance public education, and Europe had embarked upon a long and costly war. Brooks immediately began to arrange for the publication of articles to provide public school teachers with information necessary for a "broader perspective" of the European conflict. In September, 1914, he himself wrote an

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[67] E. C. Brooks, "An Example of a Misdirected Educational System," North Carolina Education VIII (March, 1914), pp. 6-7.

[68] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

article on "A European War and the Geography of Europe."[69] His colleague at Trinity College, Dr. William T. Laprade of the department of history, consented to prepare a series of articles describing the background of the war. Between October, 1914 and May, 1915, Laprade published seven articles in North Carolina Education bearing such titles as "Nationalism in the Balkans and the European War," "Bismark and the German Empire," and "Policies of Kaisar William II."[70] Realizing the value of these dispassionate accounts, Brooks urged the teachers to preserve this material and utilize it in their classrooms in 1916.[71]

From 1914 to 1919 North Carolina witnessed the passage of much important educational legislation stimulated in part by the war with its drain on the teaching force of the state and its monetary inflation. At the same time the public schools had reached a point that demanded significant changes. One

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[69] North Carolina Education IX (September, 1914), pp. 6-7.

[70] W. T. Laprade, "Nationalism in the Balkans and the European War," North Carolina Education IX (October, 1914), p. 34; "Rise of the House of Hohenzollern," Ibid., IX (December, 1914), pp. 6-7; "Bismark and the German Empire," Ibid., IX (January, 1915), pp. 4-5; "Bismark as Chancellor of the Empire," Ibid., IX (February, 1915), pp. 4-5; "Rise of Modern Democracy," Ibid., IX (March, 1915), pp. 4-5; "Policies of Kaisar William II," Ibid., IX (April, 1915), pp. 3-4; "The Coming of the Storm," Ibid., IX (May, 1915), pp. 7-8.

[71] North Carolina Education IX (May, 1915), p. 12. With the entry of the United States into the war, North Carolina Education played its part in the various patriotic and propaganda campaigns conducted in the public schools.

proposed reform concerned the method of examining, accrediting, and certificating teachers. According to State Superintendent Joyner, the existing method had "been in operation in this State, almost without the crossing of a 't' or the dotting of an 'i', since 1881."[72] Under this method there was no uniformity in the certification of teachers, and each of the one hundred county superintendents could "establish practically his own standard."[73] In 1897 the legislature created the State Board of Examiners, appointed by the State Board of Education, to prepare and grade the examinations for all applicants for first grade certificates. With the passage of the high school law ten years later the Board of Examiners was given charge of the certification of all teachers in public high schools in rural areas. Teacher certification then rested almost solely upon examination, and any stimulation for professional improvement came from these examinations, the county institutes, the Reading Circle work, or the several normal schools.[74] In describing the situation in 1916 Joyner declared: "All teachers in

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[72] Biennial Report, 1914-1916, p. 24.

[73] Biennial Report, 1912-1914, pp. 24-25.

[74] James E. Hillman, "The Story of Teacher Education and Certification in North Carolina," The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes XXI (January, 1953), pp. 21-22; Flemmons, "Extension and Equalization of Educational Opportunity in the South," Secondary Education in the South, p. 35. For an account of teacher certification in North Carolina under Joyner see Gilbert A. Tripp, "James Yadkin Joyner's Contribution to Education in North Carolina As State Superintendent of Public Instruction," (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of North Carolina), chapter V, pp. 50-71.

elementary rural public schools are required to be examined and certificated by the county superintendent of the county in which they teach: first grade teachers biennially, second and third grade teachers annually. There is no provision to secure exemption from this endless round of examinations on the same subjects ... Previous preparation and successful experience count nothing toward certification ... All teachers in all city, town, and other public schools operated under special acts of the General Assembly are exempt from examination or certification of any sort by anybody."[75] In Joyner's opinion this antiquated, chaotic method of teacher certification had to be reformed if the state consolidated the educational progress of the past decade. This reform, he thought, would mean a higher quality of instruction, better trained teachers, and higher salaries for teachers.[76]

Changes in the certification system had the backing of North Carolina Education. Indeed, few measures had received such strong editorial support from Brooks. In January, 1913, he urged the legislature to establish "a uniform examination, gradation, and certification system for teachers" with a minimum professional and scholastic requirement "in advance of the present requirement for teachers."[77] Although the legislature

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[75] Biennial Report, 1914-1916, p. 71

[76] Ibid., pp. 27-8.

[77] North Carolina Education VII (January, 1913), p. 3.

ignored the request, Brooks continued to urge such a provision. By 1914 Joyner was more urgent in his recommendation for the establishment of a "uniform standard of academic qualifications" for teachers by the State Board of Examiners and for a "classification of certificates" that would encourage and reward "teachers with successful experience, professional training, and advanced scholastic attainments" by a reasonable increase in salary.[78] Shortly after this recommendation, the legislature of 1915 empowered the State Board of Examiners in its discretion to accept successful experience and academic and professional credit from approved colleges in lieu of examinations.[79] Brooks expressed his disappointment with this provision on the grounds that the legislature had refused to accept Joyner's entire plan, because of its fear of centralization of power in the State Superintendent's office. Some legislators also felt that the State Board of Examiners was no more competent to grade examinations and issue certificates than county superintendents.[80]

At the same time Brooks outlined a plan which would combine the work of the summer institute conductors and examiners under the direct supervision of the State Superintendent. In

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[78] Biennial Report, 1912-1914, pp. 26-7.

[79] Hillman, "The Story of Teacher Education and Certification in North Carolina," Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes XXI (January, 1953), p. 22.

[80] North Carolina Education X (October, 1915), p. 12.

discussing his plan he wrote:

> The law requires that each county hold an institute biennially and the teachers to be certificated biennially. The officers of the institutes are the county superintendent and two institute conductors. It would be a simple matter therefore to have these officers of the institute changed into an examining board with the full power to license teachers in the county. The State Department could have supervision over the entire work of this board as it does today. Then, it would hardly be necessary to enforce attendance upon institutes. Furthermore, after a teacher received a first grade certificate, she would not be required to stand examination on the same public school studies two years hence; but a progressive course should be outlined, and it should be part [of the work] of the institute conductors to outline this course for the approaching year and to examine in the course of the preceding year. In this way the Teachers' Reading Course will be of great advantage to the teachers of the state. This plan could be enforced with but little change in the present law.[81]

Brooks claimed that his plan which received the endorsement of numerous prominent school officials would incur little additional expense and would avoid the cry of centralization.[82]

Brooks had admitted that his plan was "different from that proposed by the State Superintendent."[83] Indeed, Joyner was somewhat concerned at the proposal. He did not want openly to break with Brooks, and he was willing to modify his own scheme. But he argued that Brooks' plan for institute conductors to become "the board of examiners for the certification of teachers" was impractical because of the rapid turnover in

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[81] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[82] North Carolina Education X (November, 1915), p. 19.

[83] North Carolina Education X (October, 1915), p. 12.

institute conductors from year to year. "I should like to talk to you about the plan for the uniform examination and certification of teachers," Joyner wrote Brooks, "before you discuss it further along the line of your last editorial."[84] Joyner's concern about their differences indicated that he considered Brooks' support in North Carolina Education of primary importance to the success of the proposed measure.

The objectives of their plans were identical, and their difference lay only in the matter of organization and operation. Both were straightforward men who could discuss their differences and appreciate the merits of the other's plan. Moreover, their genuine interest in the progress of public education would not permit them to endanger the success of the needed reform in teacher certification by an open disagreement. The unified endorsement of one plan by all educational forces, according to Joyner, was a prerequisite for persuading the legislature to pass the measure. Brooks and Joyner continued to iron out their differences from time to time through correspondence and conversation. In the spring of 1916 Brooks still considered "the time ripe for a union of the institute work of the state with the examining work," while Joyner held this combination as a goal to be achieved at some future date. They discussed the matter when Joyner visited Brooks for several

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[84] J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, October 18, 1915, Brooks Papers (DUL).

days in the summer of 1916 in order to get his assistance on an address to be delivered at the meeting of the National Education Association.[85] Finally, a compromise plan incorporating the ideas of both men was approved by the Teachers' Assembly. Brooks championed the teacher examination and certification plan in North Carolina Education and declared that "the cause of education would be generally improved" by its enactment.[86]

The work of Joyner, Brooks, and many others on teacher certification reform came to fruition during the legislature of 1917. The legislature abolished the Board of Examiners and established the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors composed of three men and three women with the State Superintendent as chairman and the Supervisor of Teacher-Training as ex-officio secretary. This Board possessed "entire control of examining, accrediting, and certificating all applicants for teaching positions in the State and was also put in charge of directing and conducting the teachers' institutes for a term of not less than two weeks biennially in every county in the State."[87] Every teacher in the state was required to hold a certificate from the Board except those with

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[85] E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, April 28, 1916; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, June 27, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[86] North Carolina Education XI (February, 1917), p. 13.

[87] Biennial Report, 1916-1918, p. 12.

second and third grade certificates which were issued by the county and city superintendents. The Board certificated teachers on the basis of professional and academic credits as well as examination.[88]

For Brooks the next important step after the creation of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors was the appointment of the "right" people as members. He requested Governor Bickett to avoid the mistake of appointing persons without an intimate knowledge of the actual educational conditions in the state. He feared that such people would place the academic requirements for certification too far beyond the reach of the "rank and file of teachers." He suggested that Bickett appoint A. T. Allen, N. W. Walker, and Edgar W. Knight as members of the Board.[89] Of these three Allen was appointed. Brooks cooperated with the Board in organizing the certification system and offered timely suggestions on several occasions. He urged the members to work for a "better course of study," more adequate school libraries, and larger numbers of participants in the Reading Circle course.[90] In a conference with

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[88] Ibid. There was little or no opposition to the measure establishing the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors in the legislature. The main point of argument in the legislature of 1917 was concerned with a bill to have county boards of education elected by popular vote. See especially News and Observer, March 4, 1917.

[89] E. C. Brooks to Governor T. W. Bickett, April 2, 1917, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[90] North Carolina Education XII (October, 1917), p. 4.

the Board on May 12, 1917, Brooks offered North Carolina Education as their medium of communication with the teachers. Henceforth, the magazine became "the official organ of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors."[91]

In addition to the certification law, the legislature of 1917 enacted several other measures that Brooks approved and publicized in North Carolina Education. In that year the state accepted federal aid for vocational education provided through the Smith-Hughes Act that was passed by Congress while the legislature was still in session. For Brooks this was the reward of many years of editorials and articles in North Carolina Education advocating agriculture and domestic science in the public schools.[92] The legislature of 1917 also provided $25,000 for the education of illiterate adults. For several years night schools or "moonlight schools" had been held for illiterate adults in various parts of the state. Brooks had publicized the movement through numerous articles describing the accomplishments of certain "moonlight schools."[93] Among the beneficial results of such schools, Brooks noted their promise to give illiterate parents "the mental concepts necessary to rea-

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91 North Carolina Education XI (June, 1917), p. 15.

92 Leon Cook et. al. "The Federal Government and Vocational Agriculture in the South," Secondary Education in the South, p. 75.

93 See for examples North Carolina Education IX (February, 1915), p. 11; Ibid., XI (April, 1917), pp. 5-7.

son on educational questions ... and to think in terms of better schools" for their children.[94]

The legislature of 1917 also submitted the constitutional amendment for the six months school term to the people who were to vote on it in November, 1918. Brooks had waged a relentless editorial campaign in behalf of this measure since the establishment of his journal in 1906. Between the adjournment of the legislature in 1917 and the election more than a year later Brooks renewed his appeal to the teachers of the state to arouse popular support for the six months term. Joyner, as director of the campaign for the amendment, relied heavily upon Brooks and his North Carolina Education. In August, 1918, Joyner wrote him: "Give us a strong editorial. You might also print a copy of the planks in the state platforms of the two political parties strongly endorsing the amendment."[95] Brooks wrote articles entitled, "Why All Good Citizens Should Work For the Six Months' Amendment" and "Preach A Crusade Against Ignorance."[96] Joyner himself published an article in North Carolina Education explaining the advantages of the constitutional amendment.[97] On November 5, 1918 the people of the state

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94 North Carolina Education X (November, 1915), pp. 4-5.

95 J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, August 17, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence. See also J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, October 1, 1918; E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, October —, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence.

96 North Carolina Education XIII (October, 1918), pp. 4-5; Ibid., XIII (November, 1918), pp. 4-5.

97 North Carolina Education XIII (September, 1918), pp. 3-5.

passed the amendment for a minimum school term of six months by a vote of 122,062 to 20,095.[98] A week later, the First World War ended with the signing of the Armistice. North Carolina was now prepared to implement more fully the educational legislation passed in 1917 and to adjust its school system to the new conditions created by the war.

In the meantime, Brooks continued to publish a wide variety of material in North Carolina Education that was valuable to the teachers and school officials. In addition to the Reading Circle work, he provided numerous suggestions on "how to improve the teacher in service," which was one of the major problems confronting state and local school men.[99] He also gave specific hints for more effective classroom teaching, while such regular features of the journal as book reviews and reports of the North Carolina Story-Tellers League afforded the teachers other useful information. In 1920 Brooks induced Dr. William T. Laprade to write a series of seven articles for North Carolina Education on "teaching citizenship in history classes," which emphasized the necessity for a broader aim than the accumulation of facts or the promotion of provincial pride.[100] A year later Laprade contributed eight articles to Brooks' mag-

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98 Biennial Report, 1916-1918, p. 16.

99 For an article entitled "How to Improve the Teacher In Service" see North Carolina Education X (January, 1916), pp.4-5.

100 See E. C. Brooks to W. F. Marshall, August 3, 1920, S.P.I. Correspondence; See North Carolina Education XV (September 1920-March, 1921).

azine in which he, a professional historian, discussed such subjects as "The Use of Textbooks in History and Civics" and "Planning the Work of a Course in History." He also included "lesson plans" on specific topics which the high school teacher could use as models in the preparation of her own work.[101] Through similar methods Brooks sought to provide material and information valuable to the school officials. For example, he himself published articles in North Carolina Education in 1917 and 1918 on "North Carolina Law and School Administration," which were designed for principals and superintendents.[102] He also acted as his own "roving correspondent" and nearly always reported the proceedings of educational meetings in his magazine in order that teachers and school officials might be informed of developments in the field of education.[103] For Brooks this was an essential factor in the growth of a professional spirit among the public school teachers of North Carolina.

IV

By 1919 Brooks had edited North Carolina Education for

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101 See North Carolina Education XVI (September, 1921-April, 1922).

102 North Carolina Education XII (November, 1917-February, 1918)

103 Since the establishment of the journal in 1906, Brooks had reported the proceedings of such organizations as the Teachers' Assembly, Association of County Superintendents, and Association of City Superintendents.

thirteen years.[104] During that period he had cooperated with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in all matters affecting public schools. Whatever differences of opinion may have existed between Joyner and Brooks, they remained close personal friends and partners in the building of a reputable school system in North Carolina. Brooks rarely missed an opportunity to compliment Joyner's leadership. He supported the State Superintendent in all campaigns for reelection and described him as "the leader of educational thought in North Carolina."[105] In 1918 he declared that Joyner was largely responsible for the success of the constitutional amendment for a six months school term.[106] When Brooks succeeded Joyner as State Superintendent in January, 1919, he described his "distinguished" predecessor as "one of the finest products of the state" who was leaving office "at the height of his power and popularity."[107]

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[104] During the First World War Brooks and Marshall realized a small profit from the magazine. In 1917-18 the average monthly circulation was 2006 copies, and the total subscription and advertizing receipts were $2533.15. Brooks' share of the profits was $700. In 1918-19 the monthly circulation decreased slightly, while the operating expenses increased. Thus, Brooks received only $560.81 in that year. See Report of the Business Manager of North Carolina Education For the Year Ending July 1, 1918, Brooks Papers (DUL); Report of the Business Manager of North Carolina Education For the Year Ending July 1, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[105] North Carolina Journal of Education I (June 1, 1907), p. 9.

[106] North Carolina Education XIII (December, 1918), p. 15.

[107] North Carolina Education XIII (January, 1919), p. 5.

When he became head of the state school system, Brooks feared that he would have to terminate his connection with North Carolina Education. Professor M. C. S. Noble of the University expressed a desire to become editor if Brooks relinquished the position. But Governor Bickett and Attorney-General J.S. Manning assured him that he would in no way violate the "spirit or the letter of the law" by retaining his relation with the magazine while holding a state office.[108] However, on August 1, 1919, Brooks leased his half interest in the publication for $500 to W. F. Marshall, the publisher, and became "contributing editor."[109] For the next four years North Carolina Education was in effect the press organ of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It of course carried a wealth of material of practical value for teachers and school officials. But it also served as a medium of communication between State Superintendent Brooks and his large corps of public school teachers during a period of rapid change in educational legislation and procedure which necessitated numerous announcements and explanations. Indeed, the volumes of North Carolina Education between 1919 and 1923 provide a large part of the history of Brooks' administration as State Superintendent.

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[108] E. C. Brooks to M. C. S. Noble, January 9, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[109] W. F. Marshall to E. C. Brooks, August 1, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

For seventeen years Brooks closely adhered to his original editorial policy "to do everything possible to advance the cause of education." He possessed a great deal of pride in this publication which through his faith and diligence managed to survive longer than any other educational journal in North Carolina. Brooks reluctantly severed his connection with the magazine in 1923 upon his accession to the presidency of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering.[110]

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110 After Brooks gave up his interest in the magazine, Marshall became sole owner and Brooks' successor as State Superintendent, A. T. Allen, served as contributing editor. In 1924 *North Carolina Education* was purchased by the North Carolina Education Association and its name changed to *North Carolina Teacher*. Ten years later it reverted to the title *North Carolina Education* and celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in September, 1956. See E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, August 16, 1923; A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, August 20, 1923, Brooks Papers (DUL); "Two Score Years and Ten," *North Carolina Education* XXIII (September, 1956), pp. 17, 44-46.

Chapter VI

THE VERSATILE AUTHOR

In 1918 Davidson College conferred upon Brooks the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature in recognition of his literary efforts.[1] This was in recognition not only of his having waged a skillful battle for educational reform as editor of North Carolina Education but also of his success as an author of several professional articles and at least four books based upon considerable research. Brooks first acquired his interest in research and writing while a student at Trinity College. His later success as a writer owed much to the early training that he received from two of his favorite professors, Stephen B. Weeks and Edwin Mims. In fact, by 1924 Brooks had produced ten works that won him a wide recognition as a

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[1] See above p.178.

versatile author.

His first publications appeared in 1911 while he was teaching at Trinity College. One of these was a Geography of North Carolina written in collaboration with William D. Carmichael, Superintendent of the Durham City Schools. It was a supplement to Dodge's Advanced Geography, a state-adopted textbook. Brooks and Carmichael each received $500 from the Rand McNally and Company for their thirty-two page work.[2] Their little book contained a general description of North Carolina's geography, climate, and economic and natural resources. It also included a historical sketch of the state, three pages on education and government, and various maps, graphs, and statistics.[3] Several years later, Brooks collaborated on a similar type of work with I. O. Schaub of the department of agricultural extension at North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. At the suggestion of State Superintendent Joyner they prepared an Agricultural Supplement to Milne's Progressive Arithmetic, another textbook adopted for the public schools. Brooks and Schaub included in their booklet arithmetic problems that would "call special attention to the business side of farming, the advantage of spraying orchards, the cost of keeping domestic animals, the use of fertilizer,

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[2] Rand McNally and Company to E. C. Brooks, February 21, 1911, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[3] Eugene C. Brooks and William D. Carmichael, Geography of North Carolina (Chicago, 1911), pp. 1-32.

land measurements, the cost and value of good schools and roads, and general farm statistics." Through a combination of arithmetic and agriculture the authors sought to "relate the work of the schoolroom more closely to the business needs of the community."[4]

Much more important than these two textbook supplements was Brooks' Story of Cotton and the Development of the Cotton States which appeared in 1911. This volume was designed to complement history courses in elementary and high schools that used textbooks emphasizing political events at the expense of "economic forces." Brooks wrote in the preface of his volume:

> Pupils in our public schools have been taught almost exclusively the political history of our country. They have had told to them over and over again the story of political upheavals and military operations, although these crises are probably the results of certain economic forces working in the life of the people. It should be one of the chief aims of the schools, therefore, to acquaint the student with the leading economic forces of his neighborhood, his state, and his country, in order that he may better understand the politics of his country.[5]

One reviewer of the Story of Cotton concluded that Brooks was "a believer in the dominating influence of economic forces in shaping the world's history."[6]

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[4] E. C. Brooks and I. O. Schaub, Agricultural Supplement to Milne's Progressive Arithmetic, Second Book. (New York, 1914), p. 305; North Carolina Education VIII (February, 1914), p. 17. The Agricultural Supplement was published by the American Book Company and distributed free to North Carolina schools.

[5] Eugene Clyde Brooks, The Story of Cotton and the Development of the Cotton States (Chicago, 1911), p. iii.

[6] W. H. G[lasson], "Review of The Story of Cotton and the Development of the Cotton States," South Atlantic Quarterly, XI (July, 1912), pp. 290-91.

In preparing this volume Brooks received valuable assistance from two of his colleagues at Trinity College, William K. Boyd and William T. Laprade who possessed the advanced training in historical research and writing that he lacked.[7] Their advice undoubtedly helped Brooks to avoid certain pitfalls and to produce a reputable work worthy of critical scrutiny. Brooks himself was close to the subject of his book, for he not only had been reared in cotton country, but could easily walk to several cotton mills from his Trinity College office. His first-hand knowledge of the agricultural and manufacturing aspects of the cotton industry enabled him to tell the story with peculiar clarity and insight even though it failed to provide an account of the marketing of cotton and the role of cotton brokers and exchanges in price fluctuations.[8] The work actually established his reputation as an author of books for school children.

The first two chapters of the Story of Cotton sketched the history of cotton in the Orient and Europe, emphasizing the role of cotton cloth in the economic and social life of these areas. In the remainder of the volume Brooks traced the development of various aspects of cotton culture in the United States from Jamestown to the present (1911). He pointed up

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[7] Brooks, Story of Cotton, p. iv; Interview with Dr. W. T. Laprade, November 10, 1955.

[8] See W. H. G., "Review of The Story of Cotton," South Atlantic Quarterly XI (July, 1912), pp. 290-91.

the relation of cotton to the British colonial policies, the Industrial Revolution, technological advances, and the War of 1812.[9] According to him, "cotton sectionalized the South" through its impetus to the establishment of a peculiar agricultural system which projected the questions of slavery, tariffs, and territories into the national political arena. Brooks' treatment of the "civilization of the ante-bellum cotton kingdom" was dispassionate and with few exceptions avoided romanticized descriptions of the relationship between master and slave. He did point out that the wise master would never mistreat his slaves, because they were "too valuable" and the "wealth of the plantation depended upon them." The purpose of his chapter on the society of the Old South was to give the reader a view of the "way of life" which the Confederacy sought to preserve in the Civil War.[10] The Confederacy depended upon its control of the cotton supply to gain European assistance in the war, but the Union blockade destroyed the diplomatic utility of cotton.[11] The last several chapters of the book were devoted to the postwar period when national political issues were "settled without reference to the cotton kingdom." Brooks discussed the economic and social adjustments in the South after the war, placing especial emphasis upon the rise of cotton

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[9] Brooks, Story of Cotton, chapters I-VIII.

[10] Ibid., chapters VIII-IX.

[11] Ibid., p. 195.

mills and the increasing use of machinery and science in cotton farming. The last two chapters described the varities and by-products of the cotton plant which still furnished the basis for "the greatest single industry in the world if the cultivation, manufacture, commerce and the uses of cotton products are considered."[12] With his characteristic optimism Brooks concluded his study: "Thus, the intelligence of man and the forces of nature are acting and reacting on each other, while the race is working upward, always passing into higher and clearer intellectual zones, where many phenomena, once mysterious, are made plain, and new forces are brought into service for the advancement of the race."[13]

School officials, educational journals, and newspapers throughout the country acclaimed the Story of Cotton as an as an epochal work in the historical literature for school children. Certainly, the book appeared at an opportune moment. Its emphasis upon the relationship between economic and political forces was in harmony with the prevailing sentiment among public school men of the Progressive Era.[14] In the South, of course, the subject alone was sufficient to win the book wide recognition. But its popularity in the southern states was greatly augmented by the existing movement for agricultural

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[12] Ibid., p. iii.

[13] Ibid., p. 368.

[14] See Twenty-Five Years of American Education Edited by I. L. Kandel. (New York, 1924), pp. 23-4, 64-6.

high schools or farm-life schools.[15] Certain influential newspapers such as the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the Montgomery, Alabama Advertiser commended Brooks for capturing "the spirit of the New South" in his Story of Cotton. The New York School Journal declared; "The reading of this book will help vastly to discredit the Uncle Tom myth. The statements of the author ... are fair, plain, and to the point."[16] The Boston Journal of Education shared this view and described Brooks' style of writing as "exceptionally clear and virile."[17] The officials of the model elementary and high schools connected with the University of Chicago and Columbia University highly recommended the Story of Cotton as a supplementary history book in public schools.[18]

Within a year after its publication the volume was adopted as a textbook for schools in North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, and Texas.[19] In addition, it was used in

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[15] See Norman Frost, "The Development of Rural Secondary Education in the South," Secondary Education in the South, pp. 66-7.

[16] Quoted in North Carolina Education, VI (March, 1912), p. 13; Ibid., VI (April, 1912), p. 11.

[17] Quoted in North Carolina Education VI (May, 1912, p. 11. For additional reviews of the Story of Cotton see the numerous newspaper clippings in Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[18] E. Horn to E. C. Brooks, November 23, 1914, Brooks Papers (DUL); Trinity Chronicle, December 2, 1914; A List of Books Suited to a High School Library, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 35. (Washington, 1913), p. 85.

[19] Trinity Chronicle, October 18, 1911.

various local school units throughout the east.[20] Aware of the popularity of the book, Edwin Mims wrote Brooks: "You are getting a lot of strings in your hands as well as a lot of shekels in your pockets."[21] Actually, the Story of Cotton was one of the most financially successful works that Brooks published. By September, 1919 a total of 81, 421 copies of the volume had been sold and an additional 35,000 copies were printed shortly afterward.[22] Brooks apparently sold his rights to the work to Rand McNally and Company for $10,000.[23]

So popular was the Story of Cotton that Rand McNally and Company requested Brooks to write a companion volume on corn. He accepted the proposition and began preparing the work early in 1912. Not until 1916 however was the Story of Corn and the Westward Migration published, although Brooks apparently completed it several years earlier.[24] In this work he attempted to "combine certain fundamental principles of geography and agriculture and treat them historically in order that the

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[20] A. C. Haley to -- Buehring, March 22, 1912, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[21] Edwin Mims to E. C. Brooks, November 16, 1911, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[22] F. H. Perry to E. C. Brooks, September 24, 1919, C. P. I. Correspondence.

[23] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[24] Brooks included excerpts from unpublished Story of Corn in his Agriculture and Rural Life Day published in 1913. Moreover, he wrote parts of his "History of Educational Practice" in 1913-1914 on printed proof sheets of the Story of Corn.

youth may appreciate the tremendous importance of agriculture in the history of the race."[25] His principal thesis was that "grain of the West stimulated the demand for better communication, and internal improvements became a national issue."[26] In an effort to relate corn to national politics Brooks failed to point up the relationship between political and economic forces with the validity and clarity that characterized the Story of Cotton. Moreover, he did not bring to the Story of Corn that first hand knowledge of his subject that had so enhanced his earlier work. In certain portions of the book his style of writing became verbose; in others the relevance of some of his data to the subject may have been questioned. These aspects of the book probably accounted in part for its failure to achieve the recognition and financial success of its predecessor.[27]

In the first four chapters of the Story of Corn Brooks dis-

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[25] Eugene Clyde Brooks, The Story of Corn and the Westward Migration (Chicago, 1916), p. vii.

[26] Ibid., p. viii.

[27] Rand McNally and Company, publishers of Brooks' Story of Cotton, Story of Corn, Education For Democracy, and Our Dual Government, do not possess any "records of sales and printings" of these works. The company turned over such material to Brooks in 1933 when it surrendered all rights to these four books. Apparently this material has been destroyed. Information from Mrs. Brooks and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr. indicates that the Story of Corn sold far less copies than its companion volume on cotton. Arleigh Hough to Willard Gatewood, Jr., August 16, 1956; Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, June 18, 1956 and Mr. E. C. Brooks, July 12, 1956.

cussed several myths related to cereals, the ancient knowledge of cooking, the importance of bread in man's diet, and the significance of Columbus' discovery to the world's food supply.[28] He then described the introduction and cultivation of Indian maize in the Spanish and English colonies in America, and according to him, the food supplied by American corn ended "the great famines of the world." Chapters six through ten dealt with the role of corn in the westward migration of English colonists and in the rise of commerce between the east and west. In this portion of the volume Brooks attempted with labored effort to relate the economic attractions of the corn country beyond the Appalachian Mountains to the establishment of the Northwest Territory, the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, and the rise of eastern cities.[29] He achieved greater success in correlating economic and political factors in succeeding chapters that dealt with various technological advances and the internal improvements program of the federal government. For Brooks "the inventors of modern machinery and recent students of the soil" had produced "more wonderful changes in the last century and a half than all generals and lawgivers from Abraham's day to the birth of George Washington."[30] The Story of Corn described in detail the contribu-

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[28] Brooks, Story of Corn, chapters I-IV.

[29] Ibid., chapters VI-X.

[30] Ibid., p. 235.

tion of the steamboat and railroad in the development of the "corn country" of the midwest and the relationship of corn to the rise of the livestock and meat packing industries.[31] Brooks also included an account of Seaman Knapp's farmers' demonstration work and the corn club movement in which he emphasized the need for more scientific agriculture and "good business management in farming." The two concluding chapters were primarily concerned with the varieties and by-products of corn.[32]

Another of Brooks' interests was to acquaint North Carolina children with native poetry in order to foster local pride. Two collections of North Carolina verse had appeared in 1854 and 1894. In September, 1911, Brooks began publishing a series of poems by North Carolina writers in North Carolina Education. The following year he reproduced these poems in a book, North Carolina Poems, for use in the public schools. He insisted that efforts to interest youth in such literature was a basic step in the production of literary activity in future years.[33] North Carolina Poems was published in paper and cloth editions priced at forty cents and seventy-five cents, respectively.[34]

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[31] Ibid., chapters X-XIII.

[32] Ibid., chapters XVI-XVIII.

[33] North Carolina Poems Edited by Eugene Clyde Brooks. (Raleigh, 1912), pp. ix-x, 1. For the manuscript copy of this volume see Brooks Papers (DUL).

[34] J. A. Bivins, "A North Carolina Book That Stirs the Heart," North Carolina Education VI (November, 1912), p. 10. In North Carolina Poems the poems were arranged alphabetically by authors

It was a small attractive volume containing 105 poems by thirty-seven different authors. In general the subject matter of the verse fell into three catagories: historical events such as the Revolution and Civil War; famous men in state history including Sir Walter Raleigh, Zebulon Vance, and Charles B. Aycock; and natural phenomena such as mountains, streams, and forests. Brooks suggested that teachers use the volume as a supplement to history and geography courses in "the sixth or seventh grades."[35] The State Supervisor of Teacher Training, J. A. Bivins, also advised all teachers to utilize North Carolina Poems in instruction in reading and literature.[36] The little book was so popular that it was sold out within a few months after publication. Even as late as 1935 Brooks was receiving numerous requests for copies of the work.[37]

II

Shortly after entering Columbia University in September, 1913, for advanced study, Brooks completed a work undertaken

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with a brief biographical sketch of each author. In addition, Brooks included an introductory essay and explanatory notes to aid the school children in understanding the significance of the poems.

[35] North Carolina Poems, pp. 1-3.

[36] Bivins, "A North Carolina Book That Stirs the Heart," North Carolina Education VI (November, 1912), p. 10.

[37] E. C. Brooks to W. F. Marshall, June 18, 1935, Brooks Papers (DUL).

at the suggestion of his friend, P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education.[38] It was a bulletin for use in the public schools on that day set aside in many states "to emphasize the importance of agriculture to the nation and to the world of mankind, call attention to the worth and worthiness of the tillage of the soil, and to reveal something of the beauty and glory of the simple and sane life in the open country."[39] This work, entitled Agriculture and Rural Life Day: Material For Its Observance, contained seven parts with such titles as "Man's Struggle For Food," "The Application of Science to Agriculture," and "Men Influential In Improving Agriculture." The bulletin consisted largely of passages selected from works on rural life, including generous excerpts from Brooks' Story of Cotton and his yet unpublished Story of Corn.[40]

Brooks completed the manuscript on September 30, 1913, and it was published the following month. Shortly after it came from the press, L. N. Duncan of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute accused Brooks of plagiarizing a recent bulletin issued by the state of Alabama and informed Commissioner Claxton that

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[38] E. C. Brooks to W. K. Boyd, September 18, 1913, Boyd Papers.

[39] Eugene C. Brooks, Agriculture and Rural Life Day: Material For Its Observance Bureau of Education Bullstin No. 43. (Washington, 1913), p. 5.

[40] Ibid., pp. 6-69.

copyright privileges had been violated.[41] Brooks denied the charge in a forthright letter to Duncan. He explained that Claxton had collected all material for the work and that he himself had "written it up" before the publication of the Alabama bulletin. This explanation apparently satisfied Duncan and ended the controversy.[42]

One purpose of Brooks' study at Columbia University was to gain information for a proposed work to be entitled "The Influence of Education on the Institutional Life of the People: How It Has Attempted to Adjust the Individual to Life Around Him." He wanted to deal with "what actually happened in the educational world" rather than theory.[43] He was particularly interested in studying the relationship of economics and education.[44] Although he managed to complete a large portion of this study whose title was changed to "A History of Educational Practice," it was never published, but undoubtedly afforded an organized body of material useful to his lectures at Trinity

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[41] L. N. Duncan to P. P. Claxton, December 2, 1913, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[42] E. C. Brooks to George Duncan, December 9, 1913, Brooks Papers (DUL). Brooks declared that he received letters "from many parts of the country speaking appreciatively" of his Agriculture and Rural Life Day. E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 13, 1913, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[43] Trinity Chronicle, September 10, 1913.

[44] Brooks' proposal to treat educational history from the economic standpoint was encouraged by his advisers at Teachers College, especially Dean James E. Russell. E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Joyner, November 3, 1913, S. P. I. Correspondence.

College.

This unpublished manuscript embodied the most complete statement of Brooks' ideas on the history of education. In this study he not only manifested his aversion to inflexible educational theories, but his enthusiasm for what he called the "practical approach" to education. Beginning in 1902 he persistently asserted that "education must equip for service" and must take into account the social and economic environment of the child.[45] Through the years he expanded and refined these ideas, but even before attending Columbia University, he found himself in fundamental agreement with Professor John Dewey whose ideas were largely responsible for a veritable revolution in American educational thought and practice. Dewey taught that social utility should be the aim of education; that the curriculum and subject matter should be adapted to the needs and capabilities of children rather than adults; that the learning process should focus upon the child's own experience; and that "learning by doing" should supplant rote memory work on data unfamiliar to the child.[46] For years Brooks had expounded similar ideas in his classrooms, at educational meetings, and to teachers in service. In February,

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[45] See Brooks' articles on "The Public School Question" in the News and Observer, January 5, 9, 1902.

[46] See Melvin Baker, Foundations of John Dewey's Educational Theory (New York, 1955) and Merle Curti, Social Ideas of American Educators (New York, 1935), chapter XV.

1914 he fully endorsed Dewey's ideas in a review of his How We Think and declared that "nothing is pedagogical if the desired results are not obtained, and any method is right if the teacher can deliver the goods."[47] Yet Brooks apparently formulated his original educational thought quite independently of Dewey, although he came to utilize Dewey's philosophy to bolster and refine his own ideas.

At any rate, Brooks did rely upon Dewey in stating his educational ideas in his "History of Educational Practice." He wrote:

> The history of educational practice is a history of the conduct of man in his struggle to control his environment. The primitive man no less than the enlightened man of today used his mind for this purpose, and mental activity is largely what it is today because of its utility--to man in the present and in the past. Dewey says: 'the biological point of view compels us to the conviction that mind, whatever else it may be, is at least an organ of service for the control of environment in relation to the end of the life process.' This interpretation of the function of the mind leads us to the conclusion that man's occupation gives direction to his entire mental life, determines the fundamental modes of action,and controls the formation of habits. In order therefore to understand the nature of a civilization of any given period it is necessary to analyze the group of occupational activities and understand just how the whole people lived.[48]

Brooks insisted that every age possessed its own educational

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[47] E. C. Brooks, "Review of How We Think," North Carolina Education VIII (February, 1914), p. 16.

[48] E. C. Brooks, "A History of Educational Practice," 2 vols. [MSS], Brooks Papers (BLS). The Brooks Papers in possession of Mr. E. L. Smith apparently contain the complete extant manuscript of this work which includes handwritten and typewritten pages, all without page numbers.

system and theories "based in one way or another on the idea of work." He was convinced that educational practices changed "most when occupations change," but not until the rise of a generation with "a new mental pattern" did teachers and theorists themselves implement this pattern, and they sought to justify any change in accordance with some previous principle. Brooks concluded that "the education of all people is an index to the occupation of the people whose children are to be educated."[49]

The first volume of his "History of Educational Practice" included the educational history of Europe from Rome through the seventeenth century. Brooks sought to relate prevailing occupations and social organizations to educational practices in the Roman era, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation. He emphasized the role of the church and feudalism in medieval education, the influence of commerce and nationalism upon Renaissance education, and the significance of the Protestant Reformation in the rise of universal education. The second volume of his work which he apparently never completed was primarily concerned with the transfer of educational practices from England to America and their development in the United States from the Revolution to 1850. By that date, according to Brooks, the ideal of "universal free education" was strongly entrenched in

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[49] Brooks, "A History of Educational Practice," I, Introduction.

the United States, but the implementation of this ideal was left to the next generation.[50]

For some reason Brooks never got his work in shape for publication, although he apparently revised portions of it from time to time. But, as he undoubtedly recognized, it still needed considerable revision--even re-writing. In this study his digressions were frequently so extensive that his main concern of relating occupations to education was almost wholly forsaken. Moreover, certain portions of the work contained faulty interpretations and sweeping generalizations obviously based upon insufficient evidence.[51] Brooks probably came to realize that his lack of training in historical scholarship precluded the completion of this work in a form that would have been acceptable either to a reputable publisher or to the scholar in educational history.

III

In 1916 Brooks published his third major work, a lengthy account of Woodrow Wilson's first administration as president. The character and purpose of this book entitled Woodrow Wilson As President was quite different from any other volume that he

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[50] See Ibid., 2 vols.

[51] See especially the sections on the Renaissance and Protestant Reformation in Ibid., I.

wrote. Brooks was an enthusiastic supporter of President Wilson and the reform legislation enacted during his first administration.[52] In 1916 the publishing house of Row, Peterson and Company, which was anxious to cash in on the presidential campaign of that year through the publication of a book on Wilson, afforded Brooks an opportunity to employ his pen in the President's behalf. F. H. Perry, one of the company representatives, was personally acquainted with him and knew of his admiration for Wilson. Apparently through Perry's influence Brooks was commissioned to write the volume with the aid of Perry and J. B. Aswell, a Democratic congressman and former State Superintendent of Education in Louisiana.[53]

Although Brooks actually wrote most of the book, Perry and Aswell provided him with material in a form that could be easily incorporated into a readable text.[54] As a result of this assistence Brooks was able to prepare the work during June and July, 1916--the only summer while at Trinity College that he was not engaged in educational activities.[55] He mailed the first half of the manuscript to the publishers on June 29, 1916, and promised to send the remainder within a week. The book which incorporated generous excerpts from Wilson's ad-

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[52] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

[53] F. H. Perry to R. K. Row, July 1, 1916, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[54] Ibid.

[55] Durham Herald, August 26, 1916.

dresses was printed with comparable speed and released late in August.[56] The three men responsible for the preparation of the volume agreed that Brooks alone should be designated as author. Perry wrote the head of the publishing company:

> Mr. Brooks, Mr. Aswell, and myself in talking over the names that shall appear on the title are unanimous in agreeing that it would be better to have Mr. Brooks' name appear alone as the author. In the first place, Mr. Aswell can do very much more good for the book with his name off than he could with his name on, so far as marketing the book is concerned. In the next place Mr. Brooks has done the bulk of the writing and it seems to us that the name of one man means more than the names of three men, and third, for business reasons, I don't care to have my name on it.[57]

Representative Aswell at once brought the book to the attention of his colleagues in Congress, the Democratic campaign managers, and especially those congressmen "going back to their various districts." At the same time Perry sought to boost the sale of the volume through the usual media of publicity,[58] and on July 1, 1916, Aswell assured Brooks that "things look good for

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[56] R. K. Row to F. H. Perry, June 28, 1916; F. H. Perry to R. K. Row, July 1, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[57] F. H. Perry to R. K. Row, July 1, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL). In the royalty agreement on Woodrow Wilson As President Brooks, Aswell, and Perry were to receive ten per cent of the first $3000 of receipts, fifteen per cent of the next $3000, and twenty per cent of all receipts thereafter. The book sold for $1.60 per copy, and the three men shared equally in the percentage of receipts specified in the agreement. Royalty Agreement, August 25, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[58] F. H. Perry to R. K. Row, July 1, 1916, Brooks Papers (DUL).

the sale of the book."[59]

Woodrow Wilson As President was a large volume of 586 pages divided into two parts on his domestic and foreign policies, respectively. Brooks considered the first half of Wilson's administration the climax of the Progressive movement. Within these two years Wilson had inaugurated such reforms as tariff reduction, an income tax, "the banished lobby," the Federal Reserve Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, "the destruction of monopoly," the Federal Trade Commission, and the "conservation of material and human resources."[60] The significance of these reforms was explained in clear, simple language that could be readily understood by the reading public. The portrait of Wilson emerging from this discussion was one of an able and energetic executive who demonstrated remarkable skill in combining idealism and practical politics. In the political arena Wilson proved to be "a good psychologist" with an unusually accurate sense of timing. Moreover, on certain occasions the President displayed extraordinary determination in pushing legislation through Congress; on others he was willing to compromise on equally significant issues.[61]

According to Brooks, Wilson quite appropriately placed Ameri-

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[59] J. S. Aswell to E. C. Brooks, July 1, 1916, Brooks Papers (LUL).

[60] Eugene C. Brooks, Woodrow Wilson As President (Chicago, 1916), pp. 5-6.

[61] See especially Ibid., pp. 94-95, 145-51.

can foreign policy on a high moral plane. The "rule of right and justice" that underlay his conduct of international affairs introduced "a new era in diplomacy."[62] Brooks first traced Wilson's application of moral principles in the controversy between Mexico and the United States, then described its role in his successful restoration of the rights of neutral countries during the first two years of the European war--a difficult feat accomplished by the President "without plunging this nation into war."[63] Brooks insisted that the position assumed by Wilson "in the interest of humanity was holding the world to some [ethical] standard." But his strict maintenance of this position produced a public attitude toward him that alternated between distrust and gratitude. In explaining these changes in the popular mind Brooks wrote: "the public temper is made by the act of the moment, and the public mind seems to remember only similar acts of the past. If the situation is good now, it has always been favorable; but if it is bad, times are rapidly growing worse."[64] He then outlined the shifts in public opinion caused by the "rape of Belgium" and submarine warfare, especially the sinking of the Lusitania. Although Germany was classified as "the great aggressor in the war," the "slow calculating Englishmen" with their disregard for "previous

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[62] Ibid., pp. 166-69.

[63] Ibid., p. 351.

[64] Ibid., p. 327.

rules of conduct" were not relieved of all responsibility for the conflict.[65] Brooks, however, did not fail to point out that the sagging American economy "had come back with a sharp rebound" under the stimulus of the war.[66] He discussed at length the question of military and industrial preparedness and the President's gradual reversal of his position regarding the issue. Brooks did not consider the possibility of political motivation behind Wilson's espousal of the preparedness movement. The last chapter of the book dealt with the President's personality and characterized him as an "intensely human" person with a "keen sense of humor."[67]

Through the efforts of its publishers Woodrow Wilson As President received favorable publicity in numerous Democratic journals throughout the country.[68] The newspapers in general heaped unqualified praise upon the volume, but at least two journals presented thoughtful, critical reviews of it. In The Nation where it was reviewed alongside William L. Benson's campaign biography of the Republican presidential candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, the reviewer described it as a "frankly eulogistic" account of Wilson's administration that bore signs

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[65] Ibid., pp. 307, 349.

[66] Ibid., p. 305.

[67] Ibid., pp. 520, 527-31.

[68] See the collection of newspaper clippings in Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

of "a too hasty revision."[69] The New York Times agreed that the volume was "valuable," although it displayed obvious evidence of "haste in publication if not in preparation." According to the Times, Brooks' "very earnest and fervent" argument in support of Wilson's program was always "dignified and candid." But in his exaggeration of the moral perversity of Big Business Brooks wrote like the "convinced reformer."[70]

Despite the wide publicity received by the book, it did not attain the financial success anticipated by the publishers. The length of the work may have reduced its popular appeal. Probably more significant was the emphasis upon domestic issues and the Mexican-American controversy at a moment when the public was preoccupied with the European conflict. Upon completing the work Brooks apparently realized that it would enter a falling market. He stated in the preface that the war had "so affected men's memories that Wilson's domestic reforms had been almost forgotten."[71] Not until 1919 when Wilson was fighting

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69 "The Candidates," The Nation CII (October 12, 1916), pp. 350-51.

70 New York Times, 6:443, October 22, 1916. See also W. T. Laprade, "Review of Woodrow Wilson As President," South Atlantic Quarterly XV (October, 1916), pp. 388-90; Samuel Mordecai to E. C. Brooks, August 26, 1916; C. Alphonso Smith to E. C. Brooks, September 30, 1916; Jerome Dowd to E. C. Brooks, September 23, 1916, Brooks Papers (LSU).

71 Brooks, Woodrow Wilson As President, p. 5. The book was, in fact, so unprofitable that "about 50% of the one and only printing was destroyed for paper stock in the 20's." C. M. Jones (President of Row, Peterson and Company) to Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., January 15, 1957.

for the League of Nations was there "a run on the book."[72] With this encouragement Brooks began to consider writing a companion volume on Wilson's second administration.[73] Though he never undertook the project, he remained an ardent admirer of Woodrow Wilson, his principles, and his policies.

IV

Brooks published his fourth major work in the same year that he became State Superintendent. This study, entitled Education For Democracy, was a volume in the "Patriotism through Literature Series," edited by Lyman P. Powell, president of William Smith College, and published by the Rand McNally Company. The purpose of this series was "to cultivate in young people a sane, helpful, and exalted patriotism, and to teach them their obligations to the outside world."[74] Numerous books with similar aims were published during and after the World War. Prior to the publication of Brooks' volume the Powell series included three works entitled The Spirit of Democracy, The World and Democracy, and America and the League of Nations.[75]

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[72] E. C. Brooks to Row, Peterson and Company, January 2, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[73] E. C. Brooks to James Stewart, April 15, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[74] Eugene C. Brooks, Education For Democracy (Chicago, 1919), p. 264.

[75] North Carolina Education, XIV (March, 1920), p. 16.

Brooks divided his Education For Democracy into four parts with a total of twenty-six chapters. He apparently wrote the first part, "The Spirit of Democracy in Government," in the white heat of patriotic fervor. This section with its wholesale condemnation of the German government and glorification of American democracy would have undoubtedly qualified as a publication of the Committee on Public Information during the World War. However, amid this patriotic harangue on the lofty motives and noble actions of the United States Brooks managed to state quite soberly the central theme of his book: that cooperation was the essence of democratic government and cooperation in all phases of formal school work was the foundation of educational democracy.[76]

The real core of Education For Democracy was placed in the second and third parts, "Democracy in Educational Institutions" and "A New Emphasis in Education." These sections not only contained a clear statement of the educational thought that Brooks had formulated after more than twenty years of study and activity in the field of public education, but indicated, quite accurately in some instances, the direction of his educational work as State Superintendent. He insisted that "the ideal of educational institutions should be in large measure the same as that of a nation." Therefore, since the ideal of the United States was democracy, the public school teachers should "keep

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[76] See Brooks, Education For Democracy, pp. 3-52.

the ideal pure" and "lead the youth toward a larger freedom" through practical instruction in democracy.[77] Brooks believed that autocracy prevailed in many phases of the educational system, especially in school administration. "Neither democracy nor autocracy," he declared, "is taught as effectively by precept as by example."[78] According to him, the gravest dangers to educational democracy lay with "poor administrators" who "standardize and strain after national uniformity without ever consulting the needs of the community or the individual teachers." To deny teachers a voice in the formulation of educational policies was wholly incongruous with the aim of the American school and invited the organization of strong teachers' unions, itself another menace to education for democracy.[79] Brooks also contended that students should have a definite role in the conduct of school affairs, since the production of "self-governing and self-reliant citizens" was one of the most important functions of the school. In order to foster such qualities among students, the teacher should first make the class work a cooperative enterprise and cooperate with students in extra-curricula activities, especially in various kinds of clubs related to academic studies. Then, he should provide instruction in the actual structure and operation of

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77 Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

78 Ibid., p. 90.

79 Ibid., pp. 73-79.

democratic government. The third phase of student self-government was the formation of a representative student council that would gradually assume certain powers and share in the general management of the school.[80]

Brooks emphasized the necessity for school districts to be large enough to support schools with adequate equipment and qualified teachers. Such schools would become real community centers through which citizens could receive the enlightenment and stimulus necessary for the cooperation that brought the greatest rewards of a democracy. Brooks insisted that teachers and principals should become community leaders who, after a thorough study of the situation, utilized all the "best agencies" of the locale "in the building of a community school." Even "politics of the right sort" should be employed in behalf of the school in order to "counterbalance the evil in politics." Moreover, Brooks insisted that the advice of professional schoolmen should carry considerable weight in the legislative bodies responsible for educational policies. Also, the codification of state school laws would provide a concise, well-defined legal basis for public education and a clear division of powers among various school officials, thereby removing the confusion and areas of friction so rampant in many states.[81]

The third part of Education For Democracy on "a new emphasis

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[80] See Ibid., chapters XI-XII.

[81] Ibid., pp. 111-122.

in education" was, according to Professor Edgar Knight, "the most refreshing and hopeful" section of the book.[82] Brooks was convinced that teachers were too inclined to emphasize the material rather than the spiritual values and "to make the acquisition of the knowledge incorporated in the textbooks the goal of instruction." He proposed that teachers make "good citizenship" their aim and use "the subject matter to attain that aim." For him the citizenry of a democracy should possess a "regard for law and order, a quickened moral sense, well-directed energies," and "useful knowledge of life and how to make a living."[83] These characteristics, Brooks argued, could be promoted by the school simply through changes "in the substance of the curriculum." "The great purpose of the school," he declared, "is to make the child fit to enjoy the freedom guaranteed by a democracy."[84] Especially through the proper study of history could children be led to appreciate "how the world has been moving from tyranny toward freedom." The teacher should utilize American history as well as other subjects to bring the moral standards of the child (the future citizen) in harmony with the democratic ideals of the nation.

Another demand upon the school was "to adjust the individual

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[82] Edgar Knight, "Review of Education For Democracy," The High School Journal III (February, 1920), pp. 57-58. In this portion of the book Brooks made frequent use of John Dewey's Schools of Tomorrow.

[83] Brooks, Education For Democracy, pp. 147-51.

[84] Ibid., p. 167.

to some occupation and induct him into some vocation whereby he may become self-supporting and contribute to the welfare of society."[85] Brooks not only reiterated his demand for greater emphasis upon vocational or "practical" subjects, but suggested that such courses be reorganized to meet the demands of corresponding occupations. He declared: "The curriculum is always in a process of being made. It is the product of a society which is constantly undergoing changes, and the teacher who holds exclusively to the past and ignores the demands of the present is out of harmony with the age."[86] In the fourth part of the volume Brooks provided an annotated list of materials such as government pamphlets to aid the teacher in the reorientation of his courses in accordance with the educational aims outlined in Education For Democracy.[87]

The second book that Brooks completed after leaving Trinity College appeared in the fall of 1922. This work, entitled Stories of South America: Historical and Geographical, was published by the Johnson Publishing Company of Richmond, Virginia, and was designed for instructing public school students "in the wonderful history, the interesting geography, and the strange fauna and flora of the great continent that lies to the south of us." Brooks first became interested in South

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85 Ibid., pp. 162, 196.

86 Ibid., pp. 226-7.

87 Ibid., pp. 245-56.

America while teaching at Trinity College where he "collected most of the material" contained in this volume.[88] As early as 1916 he had insisted that schools should lay the intellectual foundations for hemispheric solidarity through a study of the culture and language of Latin America. The World War, according to him, had pointed up the need for "a lasting Pan-American Union."[89] Moreover, the future citizens of the United States "should know that within this century these South American republics may possibly become our greatest competitors in the commerce of the world and share in the prestige of demonstrating the purpose of democratic government."[90] Thus, one purpose of this little volume was to introduce the germs of pan-americanism in the classrooms of North America.

The Stories of South America, actually a series of related essays, opened with a discussion of Columbus and his discoveries in the New World in the name of Spain. Brooks' treatment of the Spanish settlers perpetuated in modified form the so-called Black Legend about their cruelty toward the Indians and their consuming lust for precious metals. At the same time he condoned the actions of English buccaneers and left the impression that they really were heroes of noble character.[91] Neverthe-

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[88] E. C. Brooks, Stories of South America: Historical and Geographical (Richmond, Virginia, 1922), p. 5.

[89] Brooks, Woodrow Wilson As President, pp. 516-17.

[90] Brooks, Stories of South America, p. 5.

[91] Ibid., pp. 29-31, 77-78.

less, his fairly accurate descriptions of the Inca civilization, the feats of Pizarro, the organization of the Spanish colonial system, and the racial mixture of the Spanish colonies were presented in a clear and simple manner likely to arouse the interest of school children. His approach to the revolutionary and republican era in South American history was clearly more sympathetic than to the colonial period. The chapters devoted to the revolutionary heroes , including Miranda, Bolivar, San Martin and O'Higgins, provided a fascinating and sound historical account of their military exploits and political ideas.[92] Brooks' discussion of Spanish American history after the revolution was primarily concerned with political and economic developments in Argentina which he used to portray "the age of tyrants." In sixty-three pages he described the salient aspects of the political and economic history of Portugese America, Brazil, and devoted considerable attention to the flora and fauna of the Amazon region. The concluding chapter of the book dealt with the rise of the Pan-American Union and the modification of the Monroe Doctrine through the years. Brooks concluded that North and South America "are at last on the threshold of a mutual understanding and a mutual friendship."[93]

In some respects, the Stories of South America was superior to Brooks' other works for public school children. This was

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92 See Ibid., chapters VII-XI.

93 Ibid., p. 267.

unquestionably true in regard to the style of writing and organization of contents. However, the value of the volume would have been enhanced by a brief account of the Roman Catholic Church in South America and probably would have gained wider recognition, especially in the southwestern states, if it had not been restricted to continential South America, but included Mexico and other countries of Central America. Nevertheless, according to Professor Halford Haskins of Tufts College, the Stories of South America was a distinct contribution to the historical literature for public schools and was "one of the earliest, if not the first, book on Latin America for use as a text in elementary and high schools."[94]

The volume was apparently a conspicuous financial success. It was immediately placed on the list of approved books for all Texas schools and for various city schools in eight other states.[95] Within four months after its publication 4,783 copies had been sold.[96] According to one source, Brooks realized a greater financial return from his Stories of South America than

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[94] Halford Haskins, "Review of Stories of South America," Brooks Papers (DUL). See also Halford Haskins to E. C. Brooks, February 20, 1923, Brooks Papers (DUL); Journal of the National Education Association XII (October, 1923), p. 336.

[95] Johnson Publishing Company to E. C. Brooks, December 14, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[96] "Analysis of Sales, Johnson Publishing Company, February 28, 1923," Brooks Papers (DUL).

any of his other works, even the Story of Cotton.[97] Twenty years after its first printing the book was still a popular supplementary text and in 1942 the Johnson Publishing Company urged Brooks to "bring it up to date and add a chapter on Mexico." By that time, however, his precarious physical condition would not permit him to undertake the task of revising the book.[98]

Within a year after the publication of the Stories of South America Brooks began preparing another volume for public school children which proved to be his last published work. It was entitled Our Dual Government: Studies in Americanism For Young People and published by Rand McNally and Company in 1924. The initial stimulus for writing this book, which was specifically designed for use in North Carolina schools, was the passage of an act by the legislature in 1923 requiring instruction in Americanism in all state schools.[99] The measure was actually the handiwork of the North Carolina Department of the American Legion, then busily engaged in promoting various patriotic activities among school children.[100] At the time

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97 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

98 R. Hill Fleet to E. C. Brooks, March 27, 1942; E. C. Brooks to R. Hill Fleet, April 21, 1942, Brooks Papers (DUL).

99 Public School Law, Codification of 1923, p. 120.

100 Henry L. Stevens to Members of the American Legion, April 23, 1926, Brooks Papers (DUL); A. L. and Mae Fletcher, History of the American Legion and American Legion Auxiliary, Department of North Carolina, 1919-29 (Raleigh, 1930), pp. 269-70.

of the enactment of the bill Brooks, as State Superintendent, was a member of the State Board of Education, the body empowered to adopt a suitable textbook on Americanism. He undoubtedly felt that the Board should utilize a great deal of discretion in selecting the proper kind of book, but he could hardly afford to present his own work for adoption. With his transfer to the presidency of State College in June, 1923, Brooks at once set to work on a volume that incorporated a broad view of Americanism and at the same time fulfilled the requirements of the legislative act.[101] The adoption of his Our Dual Government as a public school textbook by the State Board of Education on June 14, 1924 was approved by the American Legion.[102]

In the preparation of this little volume Brooks relied heavily upon his Education For Democracy and again his emphasis was upon cooperation as the basis of democracy. His purpose was to impress upon school children "a consciousness of their duties as worthy citizens and a greater respect for popular government."[103] The development and preservation of "a patriotic and enlightened citizenship" in a democracy depended upon self-government, self-reliance, and a spirit of cooperation. Brooks

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101 News and Observer, June 24, October 4, 1924.

102 A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, June 16, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL).

103 E. C. Brooks, Our Dual Government: Studies in Americanism For Young People (Chicago, 1924), p. 7.

spent six chapters weaving a historical account around these three qualities in the growth of American democracy. Each individual quality was exemplified through some important historical figure such as William Penn, Daniel Boone, or Benjamin Franklin. Brooks declared that absolute liberty was impossible in "a community inhabited by many people," but that "liberty may be maintained within the law if the people will cooperate."[104] The next seven chapters dealt primarily with the rise of constitutional government "among English-speaking people" with emphasis upon such documents as the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. Following a brief description of the Articles of Confederation, Brooks sketched the history of the Constitution and discussed at length the meaning of the various articles and amendments.[105] The final two chapters of the book were devoted to the government and constitution of North Carolina--a second phase of "our dual government."[106] At the end of each chapter Brooks added "suggestions to aid the teacher" in utilizing local material in order to prepare meaningful classroom discussions on Americanism.

Although Our Dual Government was the last volume completed by Brooks, it by no means marked the end of his interest in

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104 Ibid., p. 59.

105 Ibid., chapters VII-XIV.

106 Ibid., chapters XVII-XVIII.

writing. He still looked forward to the day when he would have the time to write his magnum opus on the economic and social history of North Carolina. This subject was not only very dear to him, but one in which he occupied a prominent place for more than three decades. Unfortunately, however, his time ran out before he could finish his history of North Carolina.[107] Thus, his reputation as an author rested upon the seven volumes published between 1911 and 1924. Although Brooks undoubtedly selected some of his subjects with a view toward their saleability in book form, his contemporaries found in each of his works something of value to the current literature in education, politics, or history. Certainly, he was not a flawless stylist; sometimes flamboyant prose interferred with his attempt to present a wholly accurate account of his subject. Despite his shortcomings, Brooks won a reputation as a versatile and forceful writer comparable to his wide recognition as a powerful orator.

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[107] See below p. 553.

Chapter VII

STATE SCHOOL MASTER: INNOVATIONS IN SCHOOL FINANCE, TEACHING PERSONNEL, AND COUNTY ADMINISTRATION

In the summer of 1918 Joyner informed Governor Bickett of his intention to resign as State Superintendent.[1] During his seventeen years at the helm of the school system a solid foundation for public education had been carefully constructed. The passage of the constitutional amendment for the six months school term in November, 1918, was the crowning achievement of his remarkable career. This amendment, however, necessitated a major reorganization of the public schools. Joyner, then fifty-six years old, desired to leave this task to a younger

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[1] T. W. Bickett to J. Y. Joyner, December 21, 1918, Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921. Edited by R. B. House. (Raleigh, 1923), p. 369.

man,[2] but he refused to specify his choice of a successor. Governor Bickett, of course, was well aware of his high regard for Brooks, an opinion shared by the Governor himself. On December 21, 1918, Joyner announced his resignation which was to take effect on January 1, 1919. Bickett declared that "within ten seconds by his watch" after receiving Joyner's resignation he "was after Dr. Brooks." In fact, he added, "I never thought of anybody else but Dr. Brooks."[3]

The press of the state heartily endorsed his choice. The State Journal, expressing the sentiment of numerous newspapers,[4] declared:

> Governor Bickett's instantaneous choice of Dr. Brooks will evoke not one criticism. It was inconceivable to the chief executive that any man would have named anybody else. The thing has been done in the Governor's mind since Dr. Joyner informed him that the place of State Superintendent would be vacated during Governor Bickett's term. The new Superintendent should easily hold the office at topnotch. He has what the baseball men call pep and as a public protagonist is hardly to be matched anywhere. No man in the public life of North Carolina presents a theme more interestingly. He is a prince of raconteurs and a public speaker of masterful gifts. Then he is a technician. He knows men best, but men are more interesting than books. He knows books well enough to write them and

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[2] Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

[3] Durham Herald, December 22, 1918. See also T. W. Bickett to J. Y. Joyner, December 21, 1918, Letters and Papers of Governor Bickett, p. 369; J. Y. Joyner to T. W. Bickett, December 21, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[4] See Durham Herald, December 24, 1918; Greensboro Daily News, December 23, 1918; W. P. Marshall, "The New Schoolmaster of a Great Commonwealth," North Carolina Education XIII (January, 1919), pp. 3-4; L. A. Williams, "Our New Leader," The High School Journal II (February, 1919), pp. 47, 51.

understands them well enough to relate them to men. He is one of the humanest of all North Carolinians, and he enters the one department that touches more of the humanity than any other office in the Commonwealth.[5]

The Greensboro Daily News added that the Trinity College professor was not only "a man of great ability" and personal charm, but possessed the support of Senator F. M. Simmon's "political organization."[6]

Brooks immediately accepted Governor Bickett's offer to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He realized that it would be a difficult job, but at forty-seven years of age he was energetic and in good health. He had a diabetic condition, but this as yet had not affected his physical vigor.[7] At noon on January 1, 1919, he took the oath of office before the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court in the presence of the Governor, relatives, and "a cordial company of friends."[8] Joyner was pleased with the Governor's choice of a "successor so worthy and able." "Of course you know," he assured Brooks,

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[5] The State Journal (Raleigh, North Carolina), January 3, 1919.

[6] Greensboro Daily News, December 23, 1919.

[7] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956. Brooks discovered that he was a diabetic several years before he became State Superintendent, but he suffered no ill-effects of diabetes until more than a decade later. Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 7/12/38, Duke Hospital.

[8] Marshall, "The New Schoolmaster," North Carolina Education XIII (January, 1919), pp. 3-4.

"I am yours to command for the good of the cause at any time ... and also for the sake of yourself who have been my long and true friend." In Joyner's words, "the hour is ripe, the opportunity is great."[9]

Certainly, Brooks did enter office at an extraordinary moment in the educational history of the state. Drastic reforms and changes were necessary, if the public schools were to meet the demands of "the new era" produced in part by the First World War and by the constitutional amendment. Brooks undoubtedly shared Joyner's view that "the hour was ripe" for achieving the fruition of their labors in behalf of public schools, but he realized too that the situation demanded wise and skillful leadership. Although educational conditions in some respects had greatly improved since he last held a position in the Department of Public Instruction, more than thirteen per cent of the state's population above ten years of age was still classified as illiterate. Moreover, the school enrollment had decreased by almost 15,000 pupils between 1916 and 1918. The 15,241 teachers of whom about a fifth held college diplomas received an average monthly salary of $46.52. The total expenditure for public education in 1917-1918 was $7,522,372.80 and the total value of school property was $14,303,503.28, an increase of nearly $3,000,000 within two years. More than half of the 8,102

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[9] Biennial Report, 1916-1918, p. 27; J. Y. Joyner to E. C. Brooks, December 24, 1918, S. P. I. Correspondence.

schools in the state employed only one teacher.[10] Negro education remained in a very primitive stage and apparently received less consideration from Joyner than any other aspect of the educational system. The sad plight of the Negro schools was only partially relieved by assistance from such philanthropic agencies as the General Education Board and the Rosenwald, Jeanes, and Slater Funds.[11] Moreover, the First World War produced new educational problems in North Carolina, for many qualified teachers left the schoolroom to enter military service and occupations with higher salaries. Brooks recognized the gravity of this situation and insisted that the only remedy was to "make the schools more attractive from a financial standpoint."[12] The scarcity of farm labor during the war had also drawn students from the classroom, thereby causing a sharp decline in the average daily attendance. The war had vividly pointed up the problem of illiteracy and the "supreme importance of education" to life in the twentieth century which demanded competent teachers with "decent" salaries. Yet the acute shortage of such teachers was a major part of the post-war "crisis in education" that engulfed North Carolina. The implementation of the teacher certification law as well as other

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[10] Biennial Report, 1916-1918, pp. 7-10, 279.

[11] Tripp, "James Y. Joyner's Contribution to Education," (M. A. Thesis), pp. 176-77. See also Elmer D. Johnson, "James Yadkin Joyner, Educational Statesman," North Carolina Historical Review XXXIII (July, 1956), pp. 359-83.

[12] Durham Herald, April 7, 1918.

legislation of 1917 was delayed by the war and the influenza epidemics.[13]

Amid this situation Brooks assumed his new duties on January 1, 1919. His most pressing task was to secure legislation implementing the constitutional amendment for the six months school term. This he considered the first step toward alleviating the major educational problems of the state. His arrival in Raleigh at the opening of the General Assembly forced him to rush the preparation of this legislation. Joyner had already prepared a law for operating the schools for six months which had been approved by thirty-six county superintendents. Undoubtedly Brooks was fully informed of Joyner's proposal, but he did not commit himself to its support. The proposal called for a state tax of thirty cents on every $100 valuation of property for the creation of a State Public School Fund to be used to pay one-half of the salaries of all county superintendents and other persons concerned solely with the supervision of county schools and "three months salary of all teachers of all sorts employed in the public schools of the county, including the teachers and superintendents of city and town schools." The remaining salaries would be supplied by a

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[13] For the affects of the First World War on public education see Biennial Report, 1916-1918, p. 7; Report of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, 1917-1918, p. 82; N. E. A. Bulletin VIII (November, 1919), pp. 3-12; The National Crisis in Education: An Appeal to the Public. Edited by A. T. Bowden. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 29. (Washington, 1920); Lewis, Philander Claxton, pp. 220-39.

special county tax not to exceed thirty-five cents on the $100 valuation of property and "a corresponding tax on every taxable poll." No county would share in the state fund unless it levied this special tax.[14]

Most city superintendents opposed the Joyner measure on the grounds that it discriminated against their schools. It would pay one half of the salaries of county superintendents and three months salary of rural teachers whose average school term was 116 days, while it would pay only three months salary of both city teachers and superintendents whose term was already 166 days.[15] The leaders of the opposition were Superintendents Charles L. Coon of Wilson and R. H. Latham of Winston-Salem. Coon, never reticent to express an opinion, told Brooks that he was unalterably opposed to the Joyner bill and would attempt to defeat its enactment.[16] Coon and Latham quietly planned

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[14] Biennial Report, 1916-1918, pp. 17-19; The State Journal, December 20, 1918.

[15] Biennial Report, 1916-1918, p. 42.

[16] Charles Coon to E. C. Brooks, January 15, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence. The Brooks papers within the collection known as the Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction have been acquired relatively recently by the State Department of Archives and History and have been temporarily left in the same arrangement in which they were received from the State Superintendent's files. This accounts for the chaotic and confused system of cataloguing. Therefore, the reference, S. P. I. Correspondence, will be used as heretofore rather than the complicated data on each box of the papers.

their strategy and mobilized the city superintendents for a showdown fight.[17] Coon distributed a sheet describing the Joyner measure in which he wrote:

> Should not the strong help the weak, you ask? Yes, indeed, but why should the poor man's property in Wilson pay a high tax rate to help the poor man's child in Wilkes or any other county until the poor man's property in Wilkes bears the same rate of school tax as the Wilson man's property does? Then if the Wilkes man's child can not have a six months school, it will be the duty of the Wilson man to increase his school tax for the benefit of the child of the Wilkes man, provided that at the same time the Wilkes man increases his own taxes as much as the Wilson man does.[18]

Coon also drafted a substitute bill that was to be managed in the legislature by Senators James A. Gray, Jr. of Winston-Salem and H. G. Connor, Jr. of Wilson.[19] The Coon bill was supported by those city superintendents who in reality feared a "centralization of power" in the Department of Public Instruction--a major reason for their opposition to the Joyner measure.[20]

In the meantime Brooks studied the Joyner proposal and called upon various school officials for advice.[21] He conceded that

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[17] E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, January 8, 1919; A. H. Curtis to Charles Coon, January 8, 1919; R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, January 11, 1919; R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, January 15, 1919; Harry Howell to Harry Harding, January 20, 1919, Coon Papers.

[18] Charles L. Coon, "The Joyner Six Months School Bill, January 9, 1919," Coon Papers.

[19] R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, January 11, 1919; H. G. Connor, Jr. to Charles Coon, January 16, 1919, Coon Papers.

[20] Harry Howell to Harry Harding, January 20, 1919, Coon Papers.

[21] E. C. Brooks to Frederick Archer, January 8, 1919; E. C. Brooks to Harry Harding, January 16, 1919, S.P.I. Correspondence.

there was "some justice" in the contentions of the Coon-Latham faction and assured them that he desired an equitable plan of financing the six months school term.[22] He skillfully avoided premature commitments to any proposal, and the Coon-Latham forces were never quite certain of his exact position.[23] Brooks agreed with the basic outline of Joyner's bill, but favored some revision of several sections. The success of the measure, of course, depended largely upon the way it was managed in the General Assembly. Victor Bryant of Durham, Brooks' personal friend and supporter, was chairman of the House education committee. Brooks sought to induce Lieutenant-Governor O. Max Gardner to appoint Senator W. L. Long of Halifax as chairman of the Senate education committee, but for unexplained reasons Gardner could not grant this request. However, he appointed Brooks' second choice, Senator F. C. Harding of Pitt County.[24] With allies in the key legislative posts Brooks began to revise the Joyner proposal, converting it into the "Brooks Bill," and at the same time sought to marshal the support of county superintendents and legislators.

In his revisal Brooks raised the state tax from thirty cents

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[22] E. C. Brooks to Harry Harding, January 16, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[23] E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, January 8, 1919; R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, January 11, 1919; H. G. Connor, Jr. to Charles Coon, January 16, 1919; Harry Howell to Harry Harding, January 20, 1919, Coon Papers.

[24] E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, January 6, 1919, S.P.I. Correspondence.

to thirty-two cents and changed the method of distributing the state funds. The state would pay the three months salary of all teachers, one-half of the annual salaries of county superintendents and one-third of the annual salaries of city superintendents. By the first Monday of November the county boards of education would submit their budgets for the ensuing year to the State Superintendent in which they were to make "adequate provision" for their portion of the six months school term. By the first Monday in May the county board of education was to submit a detailed budget to the county commissioners showing the amount needed to operate the schools for the following year. After deducting the amount paid by the state, the commissioners would be required to levy a special tax sufficient to cover the remainder of the May budget, but no county would be forced to exceed a rate of thirty-five cents in this tax levy. Brooks drafted the bill with a view toward the consolidation of small school districts by making the apportionment of state funds contingent upon the average daily attendance in schools. His bill also called for $75,000 for teacher training, but this amount was later reduced to $50,000. The State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors would be authorized to establish teacher training courses in county summer schools and high schools in lieu of the summer institutes.[25]

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[25] News and Observer, January 22, 1919; Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1919, pp. 276-81; North Carolina Education XIII (March, 1919), p. 6.

In a second bill, called the County Budget Act, Brooks spelled out the operation of the May and November budgets and specified the basis for the apportionment of the state school funds. This bill divided the county school taxes into three separate funds for teachers salaries, buildings, and incidentals. In estimating the amount necessary for the teachers salary fund for 1919-1920 the county board of education was to calculate on the basis of the monthly salaries of its teachers in 1918-1919 with minimum increases from ten to twenty-five per cent depending largely upon the types of certificates.[26] Included in this section was a rather crude minimum salary schedule for teachers which provided that the maximum salary for a teacher with a second grade (the lowest) certificate should be forty-five dollars per month.[27] Brooks also inserted a clause insuring "that in no case shall the salary of any teacher be reduced by the operation of this act."[28]

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[26] On the basis of the salaries in 1918-1919 those for 1919-1920 were to be increased: (1) for teachers with elementary certificates not less than twenty-five per cent; (2) for teachers with primary and grammar grade certificates not less than ten per cent; (3) for high school teachers not less than ten per cent; (4) for principals and superintendents not less than ten per cent. Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 289-90.

[27] The minimum salary schedule for 1919-1920:

Certificates	Monthly salary
1. second grade	$45
2. elementary	65
3. primary and grammar grade	70
4. high school	75

Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, p. 290.

[28] Ibid.

On January 17, 1919 Brooks discussed his bills with the Legislative Committee of the Teachers' Assembly.[29] Five days later, he appeared for the first time before the education committees of the General Assembly. He had just completed the preparation of his bills and he informed the legislators: "The principle that the strong shall help the weak is too firmly established for any city or county to claim that each district or each county should be required to maintain a six months school without having regard for this fundamental principle."[30] However, on January 24, 1919, a group of city superintendents at a conference in the Yarborough Hotel approved a resolution "that taxes collected locally for school purposes should remain in the locality to be distributed by local officials."[31] These school men were still guessing about Brooks' position until they conferred with him several hours after their meeting at the Yarborough Hotel. Brooks listened patiently to their views and resolutions; then divulged his proposed bills which were, of course, contrary to all their "principles."[32]

The real fight was on and both sides began preparations for the hearings before the joint education committee. Latham set up headquarters in Raleigh, while Coon continued to shower the

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[29] News and Observer, January 17, 1919.

[30] News and Observer, January 22, 1919.

[31] Harry Howell to Charles Coon, January 28, 1919, Coon Papers.

[32] Ibid.

newspapers with articles denouncing the "centralization feature" of the Brooks bills. The Latham-Coon group depended upon Senator Gray to keep them informed of any change in the legislative situation.[33] Brooks, however, enjoyed a favorable position which his opponents feared. Latham declared: "The County Superintendents are almost as a unit against us. They have figured out that they are going to get something for nothing and they have spread that stuff among the teachers."[34] Latham also insisted that Brooks had "very shrewdly" diverted the attention of the legislators from the salary schedule by placing it in the County Budget Bill rather than in the bill for the six months school.[35] But Brooks was not fighting alone. He received valuable assistance from Governor Bickett and the chairmen of the education committees. One of his most active supporters was a former student, A. M. Proctor, city superintendent of the Roanoke Rapids schools, who charged that Coon and Latham were the pawns of reactionary politicians. He wrote Latham: "You ought to know Mr. Coon well enough to realize that his leadership of any movement will automatically kill the movement."[36] The News and Observer also strongly

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[33] R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, January 28, 1919; Charles Coon, "Effect of the Bryant Bill on Wilson County," (January 31, 1919); Charles Coon, "The Objections of the Bryant Bill," (February, 1919), Coon Papers.

[34] R.H. Latham to Charles Coon, February 25, 1919, Coon Papers.

[35] Ibid.

[36] A. M. Proctor to R. H. Latham (Copy), February 10, 1919,

supported the Brooks bills and its publisher, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, endorsed them in an address to the General Assembly.[37]

On January 30, 1919, Victor Bryant introduced the Brooks bills in the legislature.[38] Several days later, the Coon bill was sponsored by Senator N.O. Connor, Jr. and Representative Edgar Pharr. The essential features of this bill were the emphasis upon local school control and the requirement for "pauper" counties to levy a special tax of thirty cents in addition to the existing general tax of twenty cents in order to share in the state equalizing fund.[39] On February 11, 1919 the education committees in joint session began hearings on the educational bills. Brooks opened the proceedings with a masterful demonstration of his oratorical and forensic skill. He ridiculed the city superintendents in a dignified manner for their fear of centralization and their selfish desire to deny superior educational advantages to children of "pauper counties." Moving from the rostrum to the floor of the House "in passionate gesticulation," he insisted that these same pauper counties had helped to finance the Carolina Central Railroad which was the very lifeblood of many cities opposing his bills. He declared:

S.P.I. Correspondence. See also N. H. Latham to A. M. Proctor, February 5, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[37] News and Observer, February 13, 14, 19, 1919.

[38] News and Observer, January 31, 1919.

[39] Harry Howell to Harry Harding, January 20, 1919, Coon Papers; News and Observer, February 8, 1919.

They attack the bills as tending toward centralization. There isn't a feature of centralization that isn't already in the law. They attack the proposal to regulate salaries. Well, we have undertaken to make these uniform because we have not been willing to say that one county shall have by reason of paying better salaries, better teachers than other counties; we have opposed the principle of local control of salaries because it would result inevitably in war between teachers and the boards; in a union of teachers organized for the protection from school boards--an anomalous position in the light of the kinship of labor and interests.[40]

He used statistical evidence to point up the sad plight of teachers whose salaries were "not enough to pay their board."[41] Earlier he had told the education committees that the state should provide sufficient funds to equalize the educational opportunites among the various counties, because "the child is a ward of the state and not of the county."[42] In concluding his address to the committees on February 11, 1919, Brooks declared: "The question is not how far the state shall go in education. It must go its limits, so far as its resources permit, and I for one am in favor of a free school that extends from the bottom to the state university."[43] One observer declared that "the members of the committees were enthralled" by Brooks' defense of his bills, while another described his speech as a "masterly appeal."[44]

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[40] Raleigh Times, February 12, 1919.

[41] Ibid.

[42] News and Observer, January 22, 1919.

[43] Raleigh Times, February 12, 1919.

[44] Ibid.; News and Observer, February 13, 1919.

The hearings continued with addresses by Coon, Latham, and Connor who were apparently more concerned with opposing Brooks' bills than supporting the Coon measure.[45] Senator Gray, an original member of the Coon-Latham faction, was already disheartened about their prospects for success and was receptive to Brooks' persuasive arguments.[46] In fact, opposition rapidly disintengrated after Brooks' defense of his bills and Victor Bryant's "eloquent" speeches in the House.[47] On February 21, 1919, Latham wrote Coon: "I hardly thought that it was worthwhile to keep up the fight any longer as it was evident that the [Brooks] Bill was going to be put through. It was a Bickett-Joyner-Brooks-Bryant proposition and many of the folks who no doubt really believe the thing was wrong in principle did not wish to go up against that combination. The Bill was as good as passed before we started the hearings."[48] Coon was "proud" of his stand and still complained about the power given to "a few Raleigh bureaucrats" by the Brooks bills.[49] With

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[45] News and Observer, February 13, 1919. A third plan for implementing the six months school term, called the Herring Bill, would have transferred all school funds to Raleigh and distributed them on a per capita basis. News and Observer, February 14, 1919.

[46] R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, February 4, 1919; R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, February 8, 1919, Coon Papers.

[47] News and Observer, February 20, 1919.

[48] R. H. Latham to Charles Coon, February 21, 1919, Coon Papers.

[49] Charles Coon, "The Bryant School Bill, February 24, 1919," Coon Papers.

only minor changes the Six Months School Act and the County Budget Act were ratified on February 28, and March 4, 1919, respectively.[50]

At Brooks' insistence the legislature of 1919 also enacted measures to implement the vocational education act of 1917 and to promote the establishment of high schools. Under the new legislation the high school became "a definite part of the public school system," and Brooks as State Superintendent was authorized to formulate and enforce standards and attendance regulations for such schools.[51] Previously, the law had restricted the number of high schools, but in 1919 any school that met the requirements set up by Brooks was entitled to be rated as a high school.[52] While the legislature was in session, another movement attempted to provide free tuition for orphans at the University of North Carolina. Brooks wanted to amend such a bill to include all state and denominational colleges, and he sought to win the support of all state college presidents for it. He argued that since the religious organizations generally supported the orphans up to the college level,

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[50] Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1919, pp. 261-62; Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1919, p. 319.

[51] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 280-81.

[52] W. H. Pittman to Mary Barbage, February 28, 1919; W. H. Pittman to J. Y. Irvin, May 27, 1919; E. C. Brooks to L. S. Inscoe, August 16, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

it was only fair to permit them to use state scholarships in denominational schools. According to him, "it would come as a fine grace and courtesy from the state institutions, if they would recommend such a procedure" and "would go a long way in harmonizing the state and private institutions."[53] Since officials of the state colleges were not enthusiastic about the suggestion, Brooks dropped the matter for fear of precipitating an "unfortunate discussion."[54]

An act of the legislature of 1919 closely related to the school legislation was the so-called Revaluation Act providing for a statewide revaluation of all property for tax purposes under the supervision of the State Tax Commission. This law sought to have all property assessed at its true monetary value. Previously, the assessment of property was in the hands of the county commissioners who generally allowed it to be assessed at sixty per cent of its true value. The Revaluation Act was enacted largely through the influence of Governor Bickett, an enthusiastic advocate of the "gospel of truthfulness." The total valuation of property in 1919, the last year of the old system, was $1,099,296,290, while the total valuation in 1920

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[53] E. C. Brooks to Robert Wright, February 14, 1919; E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, February 15, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[54] N. W. Walker to E. C. Brooks, February 17, 1919; Harry Chase to E. C. Brooks, February 28, 1919; W. C. Riddick to E. C. Brooks, February 20, 1919; J. I. Foust to E. C. Brooks, February 21, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

was $3,156,243,202.[55] The revaluation of taxable property was obviously of great importance to the public schools, since the state and county school tax was set at thirty-two and thirty-five cents, respectively, on the $100 valuation of property. The Brooks school laws required all counties to re-assess their property by 1920 in order to share in the state school funds.[56] Under the legislation of 1919 Brooks possessed considerable power over local schools--perhaps more power than any previous State Superintendent, since he could force the schools to raise their standards through his control of the State Public School Fund.

Shortly after the adjournment of the legislature, Brooks set out to enforce the new school legislation. Between April and September, 1919, he explained various phases of the educational "reorganization" at meetings of the district associations of county superintendents. He carefully defined the taxation procedures necessary for a county to follow before sharing in the state school funds. He found that some school officials feared that the enforcement of the revised compulsory school attendance law would create an acute demand for additional buildings.[57] Brooks, advising "tact and judgment" in securing the

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[55] Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 16-17; North Carolina Education XIII (March, 1919), p. 6.

[56] North Carolina Education XIII (March, 1919), p. 6.

[57] E. C. Brooks, "Some Vital Matters Discussed By County Superintendents," North Carolina Education XIV (October, 1919), p. 3.

attendance of children, assured them that he had attempted to provide for new buildings in cases of record enrollments through the special building funds required by the County Budget Act.[58] During the year 1919 he published numerous articles in North Carolina Education describing the new school legislation,[59] and much of his official correspondence was concerned with explaining the changes to confused school officials.[60]

II

The most pressing task confronting Brooks after the close of the legislature of 1919 was the reorganization of the teacher training facilities for teachers in service. With a $50,000 appropriation for this purpose he intended to provide county summer schools of at least four weeks duration to replace the inadequate two weeks institutes. His first step was the reorganization of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors. Brooks wanted particularly to unify the work of the Board under one member and to shift the emphasis of its work from the examination of teachers to the supervision of teacher

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58 E. C. Brooks to L. M. Peele, August 11, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

59 See North Carolina Education XIII-XIV (March-November, 1919).

60 For a few examples see: W. H. Pittman to L. Berg Beam, March 25, 1919; E. C. Brooks to H. P. Harding, April 22, 1919; E. C. Brooks to B. H. Crowder, May 27, 1919; E. C. Brooks to T. Fletcher Bulla, September 2, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

training.[61] By June, 1919, he had reorganized the Board with A. T. Allen as director. The state was divided into districts and each member of the Board was assigned to one district in order to supervise the organization of the summer teacher training programs in the counties within his district. The new salary schedule of 1919 provided the main incentive for teachers to attend these county summer schools.[62]

Many teachers, however, refused to take the new school laws seriously. They made no effort to attend summer schools in order to raise their certificates and salaries, because they believed that the teacher shortage would force the Department of Public Instruction to issue emergency certificates to them with salaries equal to those of teachers who had attended summer schools.[63] Such teachers obviously did not know their new State Superintendent whose control of the purse strings placed him in a powerful position to force them in line. On August 14, 1919, Brooks declared:

I have about reached the conclusion that this is the year to draw the line between teachers who desire to improve themselves, thereby improving their teaching, and those who have little professional spirit and pay no attention to the rules and

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61 E. C. Brooks to E. W. Walker, April 4, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

62 North Carolina Education XIII (June, 1919), p. 3; News and Observer, May 29, 1919; Mrs. T. E. Johnston to E. C. Brooks, June 3, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

63 E. C. Brooks to Laura Scott, September 2, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

regulations and the law. It seems to me therefore that we should issue no emergency certificates, and those who have refused to comply with the requirements of the law, will have to teach on a second grade certificate [maximum salary--$45]. We must elevate the profession and we cannot do it if the teachers take advantage of the situation and refuse to make any effort toward professional improvement.[64]

Brooks informed the superintendents of his decision and publicized it in the state newspapers.[65] He remained unmoved when teachers who refused to attend summer school threatened "to strike if they were not issued emergency certificates" instead of the lowest grade certificate with a maximum monthly salary of forty-five dollars.[66]

Brooks, of course, was always willing to encourage and assist those teachers who made some effort to improve their qualifications. In the summer of 1919 almost 1000 teachers attending summer school failed by one or two credits to raise their second grade certificates to elementary certificates with a minimum monthly salary of sixty-five dollars.[67] By the end of the summer schools Brooks was convinced that he should aid such teachers. He saw "a need for a certificate between the first and second grade certificate--one that will encourage second grade teachers to begin a course of study that will lead

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[64] E. C. Brooks to G. M. Gurthie, August 14, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[65] News and Observer, August 15, 1919.

[66] E. C. Brooks to Laura Scott, September 2, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[67] News and Observer, September 19, 1919.

to this and having acquired it, to work up to the first grade. Likewise, all first grade teachers who have not complied with the requirements should drop back to it."[68] Shortly afterward, Brooks authorized the issuance of three types of provisional certificates for teachers who had manifested an interest in professional improvement. He also provided provisional certificates for principals and high school teachers whose salaries were to be ten per cent less than those holding regular certificates.[69] By the end of the school year 1919-1920 a total of 16,322 white and Negro teachers held certificates, while in May, 1919, only one half this number possessed "any certificate at all." Over one third of those certificated in 1919-1920 could only qualify for the lowest grade certificate. Despite the increased salaries based on Brooks' certification scheme, the shortage of teachers prevented the opening of 403 schools in 1919-1920.[70]

Brooks came to realize the necessity for further reorganization of the teacher training program and for a rather radical revision of the certification plan and salary schedule. In planning these changes he called several meetings of representa-

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[68] E. C. Brooks to T. Fletcher Bulla, September 2, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[69] E. C. Brooks, "Provisional Certificates Authorized By the State Board of Examiners," North Carolina Education XIV (October, 1919), pp. 8-9.

[70] E. C. Brooks, Administration of the Public School System and Teacher Salary Schedule: A Report to the Governor, 1919-1920, pp. 4-5.

tives from all colleges in the state offering summer school work, members of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, and members of the State Educational Commission. At a meeting on January 24, 1920, Brooks outlined his plans and reported that under the law of 1919 the average salary of teachers had increased over fifty per cent. The average salary of rural teachers had increased almost 100 per cent. But Brooks insisted that a "living wage is not paid all teachers of the state." He declared that one principle underlying his proposed salary schedule was equal salaries for teachers with equal academic and professional qualifications regardless of the grade they taught.[71]

Brooks' aim was to establish a strictly uniform certification and salary plan for the whole state[72] and to regulate the second and third grade certificates which county superintendents still "handed out for the asking."[73] In order to execute his plan

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[71] E. C. Brooks to Howard Rondthaler, February 20, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence; News and Observer, January 25, 1920; E. C. Brooks, "A New Schedule of Teachers' Salaries," North Carolina Education XIV (February, 1920), p. 4.

[72] Brooks wrote President Harry Chase of the University: "The time has come I think when a salary schedule should be prepared that will parallel the different classes or grades of certificates. It should no longer be possible for teachers holding a lower grade ... certificate to secure a salary equal to that drawn by a teacher holding a higher grade certificate ... We are planning therefore to base the requirements for raising a certificate on summer school credit." E. C. Brooks to Harry Chase, January 13, 1920, University of North Carolina Papers, University of North Carolina.

[73] E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, May 17, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

he needed the assistance of the collegiate summer schools which could provide instruction for teachers with higher grade certificates. The county summer schools were to be attended by teachers who were not high school graduates and who held second grade or provisional certificates. Throughout the spring of 1920 Brooks perfected arrangements for his new teacher training program with the cooperation of college officials and the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors. His intention was to place the teachers in a position to reap the benefits of the revised salary schedule that he hoped to push through the special session of the General Assembly in August, 1920.[74]

Brooks' certification plan and salary schedule received wide publicity at an educational conference held in Greensboro on May 4-6, 1920. The purpose of this gathering of "patriotic citizens" was to discuss "the crisis in education in North Carolina and how to meet it." It was the first of a series of similar conferences called in various states by United States Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton.[75] The main discussions focused upon teacher qualifications and salaries, building needs, and the shortage of teachers, and Brooks used the

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[74] E. C. Brooks, "Plans For Summer School Work Being Completed," North Carolina Education XIV (February, 1920), p. 3. For an explanation of the credits toward certification gained through summer work see E. C. Brooks, "Summer School Program For North Carolina Teachers," North Carolina Education XIV (April, 1920), pp. 3-4; Information Relative to the County Summer School, 1920 (Pamphlet).

[75] North Carolina Education XIV (April, 1920), p. 11; News and Observer, March 13, 1920; May 5, 7, 9, 1920.

opportunity to explain in detail his salary schedule and certification program. Charles Coon sought "to trouble the waters" only to be squelched by Brooks' "remarkable wit." In a meeting at the close of the conference the county and city superintendents fully endorsed Brooks' proposals.[76]

Shortly before the opening of the extraordinary session of the legislature, Brooks submitted a special report to the Governor which Professor M. C. S. Noble described as "a state document of the greatest value and will put you in the company of Archibald Murphey," father of the public school system in North Carolina.[77] In this report Brooks stated that in 1919-1920 the state funds for public education amounted to $3,500,000, in comparison to $879,558, in 1913-1919. He explained the teacher training program and reported that 7000 teachers were in summer school in 1920. There were 4000 teachers in the state summer schools (colleges) and 3000 teachers in county summer schools. Brooks spelled out his salary schedule and certification plan in detail (Tables I-II) and wrote: "A state wide certification law was enacted in 1917, but before it could be inaugurated the United States entered the war. So many teachers were drawn from the profession to aid in the war that it was impossible to enforce the rules and supply teachers for

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[76] A. F. Sharpe to E. C. Brooks, May 10, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence; North Carolina Education XIV (June, 1920), p. 5.

[77] M. C. S. Noble to E. C. Brooks, August 6, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

GRADUATED SALARY SCHEDULE FOR WHITE TEACHERS

	Monthly Salary Based on Length of Service				
	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0
High School, Grammar Grade, and Primary Certificates					
Class A-graduate of a standard A-grade college with 18 semester hours in professional work	$125.35	$120	$110	$105	$100
Class B-completion of three years of standard college or two years of normal school with 12 semester hours in professional work	110	105	100	95	90
Class C-two years of standard college with 6 semester hours in professional work	105	100	95	90	85
Provisional Class C	95	90	85	80	75
Elementary Teachers' Certificates					
Class A-one year of standard college or normal school	95	90	85	80	75
Class B-graduation from standard high school and one unit of summer school work	85	80	75	70	65
Provisional Elementary	75	70	65	60	55
Certificates Below Standard					
Temporary-three years of high school and one unit of county summer school work					60
Provisional A-two years of high school					55
Provisional B-one year of high school					50
County second grade					45

Table I

GRADUATED SALARY SCHEDULE FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

High School, Grammar Grade, and Primary Certificates	Monthly Salary Based on Length of Service				
	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0
Class A-graduate of a standard A-grade college with 18 semester hours in professional work	$100	$95	$90	$85	$80
Class B-three years of standard college or two years of normal school with 12 semester hours in professional work	90	85	80	75	70
Class C-two years of a standard college with 6 semester hours of professional work	80	77.50	75	72.50	70
Provisional Class C	75	70	65	60	57.50
Elementary Teachers' Certificates					
Class A-one year of standard college or normal school	75	70	65	60	57.50
Class B-graduation from a standard high school and one unit of summer school work	70	65	60	57.50	55
Provisional Elementary	65	60	55	52.50	50
Certificates Below Standard					
Temporary-three years of high school and one unit of county summer school work					55
Provisional A-two years of high school					50
Provisional B-one year of high school					47.50
County second grade					35-45
County third grade					35

Table II

the schools. Therefore, the teachers were not properly certificated until 1919-20...."[78] Brooks declared that the experience of that year demonstrated the necessity for a revised salary schedule "to place the emphasis on professional fitness in order that those less qualified teachers may have an incentive to rise in the profession and those already well qualified may be content to remain in the profession and maintain a fair living standard."[79] The total amount of the state school budget for 1920-1921 was already $3,974,600, excluding "the increase due to teachers who raise the value of their certificates as a result of attending summer school this summer [1920]." The total increase would be "relatively small." According to Brooks' calculations, the new salary could be financed by a ten per cent increase in the tax rate of 1919-1920. Concluding his report, Brooks declared: "The teachers have set out with a determination to improve their efficiency. The test therefore has come. Does the State really wish to secure better teachers? If so, it must pay the price."[80]

The legislature convened in special session on August 10, 1920, for the purpose of adjusting the tax rates in accordance with the Revaluation Act of 1919.[81] The revaluation of tax-

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[78] Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, p. 4.

[79] Ibid., p. 6.

[80] Ibid., p. 16.

[81] News and Observer, August 11, 1920. For a brief account

able property, of course, took place in the period of post-war inflation. In his message to the General Assembly Governor Bickett said that he had hoped that the state would not have to take advantage of the ten per cent increase in taxes allowed by the Revaluation Act, but the rise of prices had largely shattered such hopes. He then added: "Moreover, the ten per cent increase that would go for the maintenance of the public schools will not be sufficient to pay the increased salaries to which the teachers are so justly entitled. If the entire ten per cent that goes to the state should not be needed, then it could well be used to make up the amount necessary to pay the teachers."[82] Brooks had already prepared amendments to the school laws of 1919 which provided for special taxes that might "exceed the limitations fixed by the Revaluation Act."[83] A visit in Durham with Victor Bryant, chairman of the House education committee, had secured Bryant's valuable support for his amendments.[84] "I shall bend every effort," Brooks declared, "to persuade the General Assembly to adopt the salary schedule

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of the effect of the Revaluation Act on school revenue see Wager, County Government in North Carolina, pp. 108-9, 300-01.

82 Letters and Papers of Governor Bickett, p. 58.

83 E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, June 12, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

84 E. C. Brooks to Victor Bryant, June __, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

and to provide the funds for it."[85] In his usual convincing manner he described the situation to the legislative committees and insisted that the Department of Public Instruction could not afford "to go back" on its promise to increase the salaries of teachers who raised their certificates through additional training.[86]

The Brooks bills including the salary schedule met little opposition in the committees. The members, however, were determined to keep the counties within the ten per cent tax increase, but agreed to establish an equalizing fund sufficient to provide for counties unable to maintain schools for six months after levying the maximum taxes. Brooks drafted his bills with these views in mind, and they were enacted essentially in their original form.[87] Under these measures the state school tax was reduced from thirty-two cents to thirteen cents, a reduction possible because of the increased property valuation; but no county could participate in the equalizing fund unless it raised by tax levy or in part by borrowing ten per cent more school funds for 1920-1921 than it had raised in 1919-1920. At the same time no county was required to levy a special school tax in excess of fifteen cents on the $100 valua-

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[85] E. C. Brooks to Holland Holton, July 22, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[86] News and Observer, August 8, 11, 1920.

[87] E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, August 19, 1920, Coon Papers.

tion of property. If this tax rate coupled with the county's portion for teachers' salaries from the State Public School Fund was insufficient to maintain schools for six months, the county was then entitled to share in the equalizing fund which was to be drawn from the State Public School Fund in order to cover any remaining deficit for 1920-1921. The amended law also gave Brooks the authority to establish a "uniform graduated salary schedule for all teachers, principals, superintendents, and assistant superintendents, based upon training duties, experience, professional fitness, and continued service in the same school system, consistent with the estimated amount to be derived from state school funds." This graduated schedule was to be the basis for the apportionment of the state funds for school officials and teachers.[88]

Brooks was pleased with the action of the legislators. "They gave me everything I asked for," he wrote, "but not quite in the way I asked for it. But the difference is a minor matter."[89] He was confident that the state tax of thirteen cents together with the county taxes would meet all demands.[90] In fact, he believed that the thirteen cent tax would yield $600,000

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[88] Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1920, pp. 113-18. See also Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 17-18.

[89] E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, August 27, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[90] E. C. Brooks to W. E. Faison, August 27, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

more revenue than the thirty-two cents tax of the previous year.[91] Brooks' optimism about the new legislation was only surpassed by the confusion of local school officials who had barely recovered from the reorganization in 1919. The local officials found it difficult to comprehend fully the intimate relationship between salaries and certificates and even more difficult to understand that their genial State Superintendent was determined to enforce a uniform program.[92] In November, 1920 Brooks wrote:

> I have no purpose in all my administrative work other than to advance the teaching profession. The standing of the teachers so far as certification was concerned has been in such confusion that it has been impossible to lay down from the beginning complete rules for the certification of teachers and for fixing salaries. The best we can do is to lay down a few principles and then modify them as educational conditions demand ... Within two or three years I feel certain the whole question of salaries can be definitely worked out and clear cut lines can be drawn. But whenever it appears that injustice is being done, I do not hesitate to modify any ruling that I have made ... If I could convince the county superintendents that it is my purpose to leave the running of the schools entirely to them just as soon as we can see through this maze of confusion I feel there would be a better attitude toward the work of this Department on the part of those who have misunderstood our program.[93]

Following the end of the legislature in 1920, much of Brooks' time was consumed by an almost endless round of correspondence

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[91] North Carolina Education, XV (September, 1920), p. 3.

[92] Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

[93] E. C. Brooks to E. P. Bradley, November 11, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

and public addresses explaining the revised school legislation.[94]

The first real test of Brooks' popularity came in the primary and election of 1920. In that year Cameron Morrison became the Democratic gubernatorial candidate after a hard-fought contest with Bickett's Lieutenant Governor, O. Max Gardner. The "friends" of D. F. Giles of Marion, a member of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, entered his name for the Democratic nomination for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Giles, however, withdrew from the race and threw his support to Brooks who won the nomination without opposition.[95] On November 2, 1920 Brooks was elected "by a majority larger than that received by the heads of his ticket, a tribute to his success in so short a time in leading the state more rapidly toward the provision of adequate means for the education of its youth than it had ever gone in a similar period in its history."[96] Brooks strongly supported the candidacy of Cameron Morrison for governor and the two men became fast friends. Brooks was one of Governor Morrison's close advisers and missed few opportunities to laud his program for building highways and port facilities. Nor was it unusual for Morrison to summon Brooks to the Executive Mansion to assist him in preparing

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[94] For examples of such explanatory letters see E. C. Brooks to L. E. Edwards, August 27, 1920; E. C. Brooks to J. M. Glenn, September 10, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[95] News and Observer, April 28, 30, 1920.

[96] Laprade, "History of Trinity College," p. 24. See also News and Observer, November 4, 1920.

his public addresses.[97]

Shortly after his election, Brooks began preparations for the regular session of the General Assembly in January, 1921. In his first biennial report he noted the educational progress under his administration. The total amount spent for schools in 1919-20 was $12,212,258 which was almost twice the amount spent during the last year of Joyner's administration. The annual salary of rural teachers was increased by $140.77, while that of city teachers increased by $151.76. Of the 7,627 teachers who attended summer school 5571 received credits which raised the value of their certificates. The total enrollment for 1919-20 was 691,249 pupils, an increase of 99,762 over the previous year. Although the rural school population decreased, the enrollment of rural schools increased by 75,096 pupils. Brooks attributed the rise in school enrollment and attendance "in large measure to the compulsory school attendance law."[98] He recommended $5,170,200 in state funds for public schools. Other recommendations based in part on the report of the State Educational Commission included proposals for placing all state normal schools under the Department of Public Instruction and for replacing the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors with divisions of teacher training and certifica-

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[97] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; E. C. Brooks, "The State Should Own Adequate Port Facilities," (An Address), Brooks Papers (DUL).

[98] Biennial Report, 1918-1920, pp. 9-10.

tion.[99] Brooks realized that the divergent views of the members of the Board were detrimental to the success of his uniform program of certification and teacher training.[100]

When the legislature convened in 1921, a number of factors had forced a change in the method of financing the schools. In the general election of 1920 the voters had approved an income tax amendment to the constitution, and the funds from this tax made it possible to relinquish the state property tax of thirteen cents. The property tax was henceforth to be levied by the counties.[101] Of more concern to Brooks was the economic depression which had by this time settled on the state. The sharp slump in the prices of tobacco and cotton placed the indebted farmers in a sad plight, while the decline in industrial wages resulted in several serious strikes. Under such circumstances it was quite natural for the legislators to be economy-conscious. Since the reduced land values made the tax valuations under the Revaluation Act unjustly high during the economic depression, the legislature authorized the county commissioners in their discretion to make horizontal reductions in property valuations.[102] Brooks immediately perceived the

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[99] News and Observer, February 7, 1921. See also Public Education in North Carolina: A Report of the State Educational Commission (Raleigh, 1920), pp. 55-6.

[100] Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

[101] Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, p. 18.

[102] Letters and Papers of Governor Bickett, pp. 389-91; Public Papers and Letters of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Caro-

gravity of the situation and its potential dangers for the school system. On January 15, he wrote a friend: "The present depression is having its effect upon the General Assembly. I am merely marking time until I can see which way to go."[103]

After considerable wrangling, the legislators accepted Brooks' proposal for financing the state's share of the public schools. Under this plan the sum of $1,400,000, derived mainly from the income tax, was appropriated to the State Public School Fund of which $642,750 was designated for specific purposes. The remainder, $757,250, formed an equalizing fund to be used for two purposes: first, to pay in accordance with the state salary schedule the salaries of county superintendents and assistant superintendents for six months and of city superintendents, supervisors, and principals of standard high schools and elementary schools of ten or more teachers for three months; second, to aid counties unable to pay teachers' salaries for six months after levying a maximum tax of thirty cents on the $100 valuation of property.[104] The legislature also enacted Brooks' rec-

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lina, 1921-1925 Edited by D. L. Corbitt. (Raleigh, 1927), pp. 112-7, 160-9, 231-3; Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, p. 23.

[103] E. C. Brooks to N. W. Walker, January 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[104] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 411-22. See also State Centralization in North Carolina Edited by Paul Betters. (Washington, 1932), pp. 31-32; Wager, County Government in North Carolina, pp. 300-01; Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 18-9; News and Observer, March 16, 1921; E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, January 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

commendations to replace the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors with divisions of teacher training and certification and to amend the compulsory school attendance law to include all children between the ages of seven and fourteen.[105] Brooks was pleased with the school legislation of 1921 and declared that "the General Assembly was exceedingly good to us."[106]

In the meantime Brooks continued his efforts to improve the teacher training program. In 1920 he notified teachers that Reading Circle work would not be accepted as credit for raising certificates after July, 1921.[107] Certification was to be based largely upon summer school credits.[108] Brooks sought to make the certification program flexible enough to avoid injustices to efficient teachers who lacked the professional training for a high grade certificate. But he recognized that at

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105 Brooks wanted to amend the compulsory attendance law to include all children between ages of seven and sixteen, but he felt that the depression precluded the passage of such a measure. E. C. Brooks to W. Y. Davenport, January 12, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

106 E. C. Brooks to M. F. Haggerty, April 12, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

107 E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, September 23, 1920, Coon Papers.

108 After July, 1921, the Reading Circle work was under the supervision of the local superintendents. On June 7, 1921, Brooks announced the revised rules for teacher certification which differed from the previous rules mainly in the substitution of certain academic credits for professiona credits. All certificates issued under the old rules were valid for two years, while those issued under the rules of 1921 were valid for five years. North Carolina Teachers' Reading Circle for 1921-1922 (Educational Bulletin No. 23); E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, September 1, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; News and Observer, June 7, 1921.

first some worthy teachers would necessarily receive lower salaries.[109] Numerous teachers with many years of experience discovered that they had inferior certificates and descended upon the State Superintendent's office demanding explanations. While Brooks and his assistants patiently explained the law, these teachers frequently wept in despair.[110] By the summer of 1921, however, the importance of the salary schedule and state certification program had sufficiently impressed the teachers, and 10,911 teachers attended school that summer.[111]

By late 1920 Brooks came to recognize the need for an agency designed to promote cooperation in teacher training between his department and the colleges in the state.[112] First of all, it would be necessary for this agency to ascertain those institutions capable of providing the required instruction, because at the time numerous institutions of doubtful status called themselves colleges. Moreover, Brooks desired to establish standards for teacher training that would serve as a guide in issuing certificates for credits received from these various colleges. For six months he discussed these questions with

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109 E. C. Brooks to A. S. Webb, May 23, 1921; E. C. Brooks to J. S. Miller, May 24, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

110 Interview with Mr. A. T. Brower, October 2, 1956.

111 A. T. Allen, A Comparative Study of Summer Schools For Teachers in North Carolina, 1922, (Educational Publication No. 63) p. 6.

112 E. C. Brooks to C. T. Brewer, December 9, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

representatives of the colleges and sponsored special studies of the confused situation.[113] By August, 1921, he had decided to call a conference of college representatives to "assist him in establishing a standard of college work."[114] At Brooks' request the college presidents and representatives of the Department of Public Instruction met on October 7, 1921, and organized the North Carolina College Conference. In his address to the group Brooks insisted that the effectiveness of his uniform program depended upon a standardization of college credits. "I am helpless without your assistance," he concluded, "and you will be in trouble without mine."[115] The conference organized committees "on the definition of college standards" and "on college entrance requirements."[116] The Conference met again on March 10-11, 1922, and accepted a set of "principles for accrediting colleges."[117] Brooks promptly

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113 Brooks secured the aid of Dr. George Zook, specialist in higher education in the Bureau of Education, in studying the confused situation. A. T. Allen, Institutions of Higher Learning in North Carolina (Educational Publication No. 58), p. 2.

114 E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, August 26, 1921, Few Papers.

115 Minutes of the Meeting of College Presidents and Delegates, October 7-8, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

116 Ibid.

117 The principles included the following: (1) admission to college required graduation from a four year secondary school approved by a recognized accrediting agency; (2) college graduation required the completion of 120 semester hours of credit; (3) the size of the college faculty was to be determined by the "type of institution" and the number of students, but any college of 100 students should have at least eight department

sent a committee from his department to inspect and classify the colleges in the state in accordance with these principles. The rating of the institutions was completed in time to be used in issuing teachers' certificates to the graduates of the class of 1922.[118] Through the North Carolina College Conference Brooks brought both state and denominational colleges into close cooperation with the Department of Public Instruction.

His establishment of a uniform certification plan and salary schedule won him wide acclaim in national educational circles as well as in the state. Such newspapers as the News and Observer, the Greensboro Daily News, and the Charlotte Observer devoted considerable attention to his "remarkable" achievements. In 1920 he was elected to the vice-presidency of the National Education Association and in 1921 he was appointed to its committee on salaries, undoubtedly in recognition of his

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heads; (4) all colleges should possess a minimum annual operating income of $50,000; (5) colleges should have sufficient equipment, lands, and libraries of at least 8000 volumes; (6) colleges must not maintain preparatory schools; (7) the standing of the college to be determined in large part by the character of its curriculum, efficiency of instruction, conservatism in granting honorary degrees, and standards of its regular degrees; (8) no college was to be accredited until it had been thoroughly inspected by a committee of the Conference. Several of the above principles did not become operative until two or three years later. Allen, Institutions of Higher Learning In North Carolina, pp. 12-13.

118 E. C. Brooks to J. Y. Campbell, December 19, 1922, S.P.I. Correspondence.

services to North Carolina.[119] In 1922 Brooks was appointed to the Educational Finance Inquiry, a group of specialists in public education, taxation, and business, who were to conduct a comprehensive investigation of educational finance in view of post-war economic conditions. Their study, sponsored by the American Council of Education and financed by the Commonwealth Fund, produced a series of works on the financial problems of education in various states. The nine members of the group included such prominent educational specialists as George D. Strayer and Ellwood Cubberly. Brooks manifested a great deal of interest in this work and utilized the findings of the investigation in his reorganization of public schools in North Carolina.[120] The most eloquent tribute to Brooks' work as State Superintendent was the description of his educational reforms in the report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching of 1920. The president of the Foundation in describing the first year of Brooks' administration declared: "The resulting achievement of a single year has been unique in the history of American education." He con-

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[119] The Journal of the National Education Association X (February, 1921), p. 31; Ibid., X (April, 1921), p. 85.

[120] E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, May 22, 1922; E. C. Brooks to George D. Strayer, July 14, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence; The Journal of the National Education Association XI (January, 1922), p. 27; Ibid., X (March, 1921), p. 59. See also Carter Alexander, Bibliography of Educational Finance (New York, 1924) which was a publication of the Educational Finance Inquiry and includes other publications of that group.

cluded that Brooks had "given the country a striking example of what is probably the clearest, simplest and wisest policy of applying state funds to public education."[121]

III

During 1921 the adequacy of Brooks' method of financing public schools in North Carolina was seriously jeopardized by the fluctuating tax valuations of property authorized by the legislature of that year. The reductions in many counties ranged from ten to fifty per cent of the tax valuations of the previous year. This, of course, meant a sharp decline in the county school revenues. The county commissioners, therefore, turned to the state equalizing fund for aid in maintaining the six months school and the teachers' salary schedule.[122] Brooks immediately took steps to avoid the severe strain upon the equalizing fund by forcing counties which had reduced property valuations to exceed the thirty cent tax rate prescribed by the legislature. He warned the counties in plain language that the equalizing fund would not take care of county school deficits

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121 The Carnegie Foundation For the Advancement of Teaching: The Sixteenth Annual Report of the President and of the Treasurer (New York, 1921), p. 85.

122 See Wager, County Government in North Carolina, p. 301; Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, pp. 32-3, 124-5; Morrison, Study of the Equalizing Fund, pp. 22-3.

resulting from reduced property tax valuations.[123] In May, 1921, Brooks wrote the Superintendent of Pender County Schools:

> The Constitution compels the commissioners to run the schools six months. No act of the General Assembly can repeal this mandate of the Constitution. It matters not if the General Assembly did say that 'counties shall receive from the State Public School Fund for teachers' salaries an appropriation sufficient to bring the school term to six months in every school district,' if after that act was passed the commissioners cut the valuation of the property to such an extent that a 30 cent [tax] rate will not run the schools for six months. This is exactly what happened.[124]

With backing of the attorney-general, Brooks made his position painfully clear to county commissioners. In a statement to the press he declared: "I didn't write the constitution but I did write the law that provided that before any county participates in the equalizing fund it must provide funds up to a certain amount. Now they have cut the ground out from under the law by reducing property values. It will have to be built back on a rate that will raise the money needed by the schools."[125] Brooks informed the county commissioners that in order for any county to share in the State Public School Fund, it must levy, if necessary, the maximum rate prescribed by the legislature of 1920 or a rate on the 1921 valuation of property equivalent to

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[123] E. C. Brooks to E. F. Upchurch, April 25, 1921; E. C. Brooks to E. W. S. Cobb, May 23, 1921; E. C. Brooks to T. L. Johnson, June 13, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[124] E. C. Brooks to T. T. Murphy, May 25, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[125] News and Observer, July 12, 1921.

the maximum thirty cent rate levied on the 1920 valuation. Needless to say, he was severely criticized in some quarters for his determination to force counties to exceed the legislative tax limitation of 1921 in order to fulfill a constitutional obligation.[126]

At the same time Brooks refused to consider proposals for a downward revision of the teacher salary schedule "during these critical times." In July, 1921, he declared:

> I do not believe the State Salary Schedule is too high. It is necessary to hold out reward to those who qualify themselves so that others will seek to become better qualified. The salary schedule is flexible and can be easily adjusted to a county. Many counties that exceeded the State Salary Schedule last year will simply come up to it this year. We have given the teachers a great desire to improve themselves. If we take away the incentive now by reducing the salary schedule, we may find ourselves within a year of two back where we were two years ago.[127]

Brooks stubbornly maintained this opinion and promptly terminated aid from the equalizing fund to any county that reduced teachers' salaries below the state schedule.[128]

In the meantime teachers had taken advantage of the summer schools to raise their certificates, hence their salaries. The number of teachers holding the highest standard certificate increased from 2368 in 1919-1920 to 4367, a development that

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126 News and Observer, July 11, 12, 1921.

127 E. C. Brooks to A. G. Cox, July 8, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

128 E. C. Brooks to Ella Thompson, August 10, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Brooks had not expected. By the end of the school year 1920-1921 he realized that state funds were inadequate to fulfill the state's obligation toward teachers' salaries. During 1920-1921 the "number of well-trained teachers" had increased from 7,491 to 10,141, and the total number of teachers employed in the state rose from 15,993 to 17,523.[129] The result of this situation was a deficit of $704,623.59 in the State Public School Fund. "The deficit therefore is not due to the high salaries paid," Brooks declared, "but to the large increase in well prepared teachers and in the total number of teachers employed." For him the question of a deficit was eclipsed by the importance of the increasing number of qualified teachers in the state.[130] In any case, the deficit in the state school funds magnified the controversy caused by decreased county property valuation.

Brooks received valuable assistance from the state courts in his efforts to save his public school program from the reductions in tax valuation of property. When the Nash County commissioners refused to abide by his dictum in levying school taxes, the county board of education instituted mandamus pro-

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[129] E. C. Brooks to T. R. Foust, June 16, 1921; E. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, July 13, 1921; E. C. Brooks to H. W. Loub, September 29, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; A Comparative Study of Summer Schools For Teachers Held in North Carolina in 1921, Educational Publication No. 39, pp. 5-7.

[130] E. C. Brooks, "Deficit in the Public School Fund," Brooks Papers (DUL).

ceedings against them in July, 1921. Judge George W. Connor upheld Brooks' action and ordered the Nash commissioners to levy sufficient taxes to operate the schools for six months regardless of the legislative tax limitation. This decision undoubtedly induced many counties to provide the necessary taxes without further ado.[131] Nevertheless, certain other counties continued to resist any additional tax levy and Yadkin County appealed its case to the State Supreme Court which took action at a very opportune moment in December.[132]

Brooks, in the meantime, conferred with Governor Morrison on means to eradicate the deficit in the State Public School Fund for 1920-21 and to revise the county school tax rates for 1921-23. They agreed to convene a special session of the General Assembly on December 6, 1921. This provided Morrison an opportunity to relieve towns and cities suffering from the invalidation of the Municipal Finance Act of 1921.[133] For Brooks, however, this special session of the legislature was to bring

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[131] The Board of Education of Nash County vs. the Board of Commissioners of the County of Nash, July 16, 1921; E. C. Brooks to L. S. Inscoe, July 12, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence (County File); News and Observer, August 12, 1921.

[132] See below p. 305.

[133] Minutes of the Council of State, 1889-1924, pp. 399, 454, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina; Papers and Letters of Governor Morrison, pp. 28-9; News and Observer, July 15, 1921. The Municipal Finance Act as amended and re-enacted in 1921 was a basic law for city finances and included provisions about bond issues, permanent and temporary loans, budgets, and appropriations. See Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 107-126.

the most vociferious opposition to his school program of his entire career as State Superintendent. At the same time it was to provide a supreme test for his political tact and finesse. Fortunately, he was strongly supported by Governor Morrison, the Council of State, and the courts, as well as several prominent members of the legislature including one of his former students, John G. Dawson of Kinston.[134] Brooks, of course, was cognizant of the opposition to the increasing financial support necessary for public education. In discussing the situation with county superintendents in November, 1921, he declared that "reactionaries" opposed his progressive educational program solely because it necessitated higher taxes. Even the superintendents listened to him "without comment, question, or applause."[135]

The smoldering opposition to the state administration of public schools burst into overt criticism on December 6, 1921 when Brooks appeared before the joint education committees to explain the deficit in the state school fund. The opposition was led by T. C. Bowie, a fiery representative from Ashe County. After accusing Brooks of extravagance in expending state funds, Bowie demanded explanations of the "excessive" expenses of the Department of Public Instruction including the Superintendent's salary. He also strongly reprimanded Brooks for ordering county

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[134] Interview with John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

[135] News and Observer, November 25, 1921.

commissioners to exceed the legislative tax limitation. At this juncture Representative R. O. Everett of Durham suggested that Brooks had "usurped" the power of the State Tax Commission. The author of the legislative tax limitation, R. A. Doughton of Alleghany County, expressed serious doubt that Brooks had ever intended to keep the schools within that limitation. Under this fire of criticism Brooks firmly stood his ground and explained his actions in terms of constitutional requirements. For the enlightenment of several of his most caustic opponents he explained that the deficit in the state school fund was for the year 1920-21 rather than the current year of 1921-22 as they supposed.[136] When Bowie described the extravagance of the state salary schedule, Brooks brought out a roster of teachers' salaries in Bowie's native county, Ashe, and asked him to designate the salaries that he would reduce--they were already below the state average.[137] Meanwhile Brooks impressed upon other legislators the amounts due their counties from the deficit of $704,000. This approach apparently won him considerable support among legislators primarily concerned with the interests of their own counties.[138]

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[136] News and Observer, December 7, 8, 1921.

[137] Greensboro Daily News, December 28, 1921.

[138] Interview with Mr. B. L. Smith, April 28, 1956. In a press interview on December 6, 1921, R. W. N. Stone, president of the State Farmer's Union, suggested that the deficit in the state school fund resulted from the misappropriation of funds by Brooks. His statement, however, indicated that he possessed

After several days of committee hearings the debate on educational finance was transferred to the floor of the General Assembly where Bowie and Everett with Senators W. H. S. Burgwyn and L. R. Varsar led the attacks on Brooks' administration. Here Brooks' friends, chairman J. H. Matthews of the House education committee, Speaker Harry Grier, and John G. Dawson came to his defense. The legislators voted overwhelmingly in favor of resolutions to pay the deficit and to validate the county tax rates that exceeded the legislative limitation. In accordance with Brooks' suggestion they passed an act requiring other counties to levy a tax of thirty-nine cents on the $100 valuation of property (as currently assessed) for teachers' salaries in 1921-22 and 1922-23 in order to participate in the state equalizing fund.[139] Brooks believed that one reason for the easy passage of this act was the Supreme Court's decision on the Yadkin County Case on December 7, 1921, which he considered "equivalent to asking the legislature to define the tax rate for schools and put an end to litigation."[140] Largely through

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little knowledge of public school finance. Brooks wrote Stone in strong language requesting him to retract his statement. News and Observer, December 10, 11, 12, 1921; E. C. Brooks to R. W. H. Stone, December 10, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[139] News and Observer, December 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 1921; Public Laws and Resolutions Special Session, 1921, pp. 51-56; House Journal, Extra Session, 1921, p. 288; Senate Journal, Extra Session, 1921, p. 250.

[140] E. C. Brooks, "New School Legislation," North Carolina Education XVI (January, 1922), p. 2; News and Observer, December 8, 1921.

Bowie's influence $75,000 was transferred from the special appropriations for the Department of Public Instruction to the State Public School Fund, thereby increasing the remainder of that fund to $832,250. The General Assembly also created a commission to investigate and report on legislation "relating to taxation for school purposes."[141]

Brooks emerged victorious from what the News and Observer described as "the most serious fight he has had on his hands since he assumed direction of the schools three years ago."[142] The legislature that set out "to clip the flappers of Superintendent Brooks" had actually succumbed to his persuasive arguments and firm, yet tactful, approach to the "whole tangled disorder" of school finances resulting from the changes in property values. Throughout the legislative fight Brooks received letters and telegrams from prominent citizens commending his stand and deploring the attacks upon his administration.[143] One observer declared that "the capitulation" of Bowie, Varser, and Doughton "was the perfect tribute to the diplomacy of Dr. Brooks."[144] On December 30, 1921, Brooks wrote: "We have just gone through a Special Session of the General Assembly. I

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141 Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1921, pp. 70-1.

142 News and Observer, December 7, 1921.

143 See E. C. Brooks to R. D. W. Connor, December 15, 1921; Julian S. Carr to E. C. Brooks, December 7, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

144 Greensboro Daily News, December 26, 1921.

received a good deal of cussing, but prospered under it. After the legislature got through talking about me, it did everything I asked it to do. I didn't mind the cussing."[145]

Perhaps Brooks' most notable accomplishment amid the threats of economy-conscious legislators was the maintenance of his certification program and salary schedule which were so closely akin to taxes. He was thus able to continue the incentive for professional improvement among teachers, the "unprecedented" progress in which Brooks took a great personal pride. There was considerable justification for pride in the facts that the number of teachers with standard certificates increased from 7,491 in 1919-1920 to 14,379 in 1921-1922, while those holding "below standard certificates" decreased from 8,502 to 5,161 in the same period. Approximately 12,500 teachers attended summer schools in 1922, an increase of 5,000 since 1920. Moreover, the total number of teachers employed in the state rose from 15,993 in 1919-1920 to 20,536 in 1922-1923.[146] Brooks attributed this "remarkable" growth and improvement of the teaching personnel to his salary schedule and summer school pro-

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145 E. C. Brooks to W. K. Boyd, December 30, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

146 Biennial Report, 1920-1922, pp. 32-33. In 1922 Brooks attempted in vain to persuade the General Education Board to provide financial assistance for private and denominational colleges with teacher training departments. E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, May 22, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

gram.[147]

Brooks, however, realized that his educational program still rested upon an "unsatisfactory" method of distributing state school funds. The special session of the legislature in 1921 had provided only temporary relief, but it had created a commission to investigate the problem of school finance.[148] During 1922 Brooks worked closely with N. G. Connor, Jr., chairman of the commission, in devising a scheme that would divorce the state equalizing fund from the revaluation of property. Brooks not only did most of the actual work of the commission but also wrote its report to the legislature. In fact, he drafted the bills concerning the equalizing fund that were sponsored by Connor in the legislature of 1923. Through the enactment of these bills he attempted to stabilize the method of distributing the equalizing fund by divorcing it from the valuation of taxable property.[149]

In December, 1922 Brooks began paving the way for the easy

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[147] In 1922 near the end of his administration Brooks declared that "the most significant educational progress in North Carolina is in the improvement of the standing of the teachers." E. C. Brooks to J. E. Morgan, December 15, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[148] News and Observer, December 15, 16, 20, 1921.

[149] N. G. Connor, Jr. to E. C. Brooks, February 23, 1922; N. G. Connor, Jr. to E. C. Brooks, April 10, 1922; E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., May 8, 1922; E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., June 24, 1922; E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., August 24, 1922; E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., November 13, 1922; E. C. Brooks to A. M. Proctor, November 20, 1922; E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., November 21, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

passage of his measures in the General Assembly of 1923. He enlisted the support of John G. Dawson, who was elected speaker of the House, and manipulated certain shifts in key committee assignments with the aid of Governor Morrison. At his suggestion Dawson persuaded R. G. Connor, Jr. to accept the chairmanship of the House education committee, although he had headed the legislative educational commission that sponsored Brooks' bills.[150] The measure concerning the equalizing fund did not in itself arouse much opposition, mainly because the legislators concentrated their attention upon another Brooks proposal--the school code.[151] Although the legislature of 1923 provided an equalizing fund of $1,250,000, it did not wholly fulfill Brooks' desire for a complete severance of the relation between the distribution of the fund and the property valuations. The definite amount received by each county was to be apportioned on the following basis:

> The State Superintendent of Public Instruction shall determine for each county the amount necessary to pay the salaries of all teachers and principals for the school year 1921-1922, and for the school year 1922-1923, and the average amount for these two years, according to the approved November budget for the six months term. He shall then deduct the gross yield of the legal tax rate of each county for the six months' school term from the average amount as determined above, and the difference shall be the amount of the Equalizing Fund for the salaries of teachers and principals for the years 1923-24 and 1924-25....

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[150] R. G. Brooks to John G. Dawson, December 2, 1922; John G. Dawson to R. G. Brooks, December 4, 1922; John G. Dawson to R. G. Brooks, December 11, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence; Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

[151] See below pp. 367-70.

But no county shall receive an amount from the Equalizing Fund sufficient to raise the average per capita cost for the state, except as provided in section six: Provided, that in order to receive the amount as specified in this act each county shall raise, together with the amount it will be entitled to draw from the Equalizing Fund, an amount which shall equal the amount of the salaries of teachers, principals, and superintendents actually paid not in excess of the adopted salary schedule for the six months' term for the year 1922-3.[152]

In addition, each county participating in the Equalizing Fund was to be paid one half the salary of its superintendent. Section six of the act provided that any portion of the Fund not otherwise appropriated was to be distributed to "backward counties" for raising the "grade" of their teachers and to counties forced by "economic reverses" to lower the valuation of property.[153]

During Brooks' administration the idea of state, rather than local, support of public education gained momentum--a fact that Brooks noted in his last biennial report.[154] Not until 1931 during the Great Depression did the state assume the entire obligation of financing the public schools for the constitutional term of six months. Although Brooks resigned as State Superintendent in 1923, he remained keenly interested in securing a sound financial basis for public schools and worked for an equitable distribution of the equalizing fund, still a perplex-

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[152] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1923, pp. 431-32; Cf. E. C. Brooks to N. G. Connor, Jr., August 24, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[153] Ibid., p. 433.

[154] Biennial Report, 1920-1922, p. 11.

ing problem for his successor. Brooks was appointed chairman of the Public School Equalizing Fund Commission created in 1925. In this capacity he again observed that certain counties "consciously" shifted the financial burden for education upon the state whenever possible and at the same time clamored for local autonomy just as they had done during his administration.[155] The creation of the State Board of Equalization in 1927 to replace the Equalizing Fund Commission terminated Brooks' official relations with the public schools.[156] Nevertheless, he continued to be a staunch advocate of school expansion to meet the educational needs of North Carolina children. He not only championed progressive school legislation in numerous public addresses, but remained a close friend and adviser to his successor, A. T. Allen.[157]

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155 Governor A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, April 25, 1925; "The Minutes of the Meetings of the Equalizing Fund Commission, 1925"; E. C. Brooks to W. C. Feimister, May 25, 1925; E. C. Brooks, "Report of the Equalizing Fund Commission, June 1, 1925; E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, June 1, 1925; E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, March 29, 1926, Eugene Clyde Brooks Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. Microfilm copies of this collection are in the Duke University Library. Hereafter cited as Brooks Papers (DAH).

156 Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, pp. 37-8; Plemmons, "Extension and Equalization of Educational Opportunity in the South," Secondary Education in the South, pp. 33-4.

157 See for example, E. C. Brooks, "The Spirit of Calvin Wiley," (1931?), Brooks Papers (BLS).

IV

For years Brooks had pleaded for greater efficiency in the county administration of public schools. It was among his favorite editorial subjects in North Carolina Education and was definitely one of his major contributions as State Superintendent. In few other phases of his work did Brooks demonstrate such a remarkable tenacity of purpose. He considered competent county superintendents absolutely essential to the efficient operation of the schools. In many instances the office had long been a political plum at the disposal of local politicians. The superintendents in many counties devoted only part of their time to the schools and even then were wholly incompetent in educational matters. This situation still flourished when Brooks became State Superintendent. He readily perceived that the reorganization and rapid expansion of the school system in the post-World War I period demanded immediate and radical changes in the character of county school supervision and administration.[158]

One method used by Brooks to effect the necessary reforms was to expose the gross inefficiency of county school officials and to suggest remedial measures. Through his numerous public addresses and articles on the subject he assumed a role comparable to the muckraker and publicist. He insisted that the

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[158] Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-20, pp. 10-11; Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 13.

growth of schools and school finances required the full time of a competent, well-trained county superintendent who was the real educational executive of the county. He deplored the existence of numerous independent educational agents in the county whose work was frequently ineffective because of the lack of wise direction and "unity of purpose." According to Brooks, all such agents should be under the supervision of the county superintendent. "It shall be the policy of the state department of education," he said in 1920, "to magnify the office of county superintendent."[159] Brooks demanded qualified men as superintendents. This meant men who not only knew about schools in general but who understood finances. They should, moreover, be provided with sufficient clerical assistants and aided by trained assistants so that the superintendent himself could "give his best thought" to administration.[160] At the same time Brooks insisted that county boards of education should promptly remove any superintendent or supervisor who clearly demonstrated incompetence, indifference, or laziness in the execution of his duties.[161]

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[159] E. C. Brooks, "How To Secure More Effective Educational Administration," North Carolina Education XIV (May, 1920), pp. 3-4. See also North Carolina Education XIV (October, 1919), p. 13; E. C. Brooks, "Modern Educational Tendencies," (An Address), Brooks Papers (SLS).

[160] E. C. Brooks, "Shall We Improve the County Administration of Schools," North Carolina Education XV (November, 1920), p. 5.

[161] News and Observer, September 20, 1921.

Brooks himself was always willing to advise officials on ways of improving the administration of local schools. In fact, a large portion of his time was devoted to explaining the educational laws and to settling local controversies. Whenever the General Assembly made significant changes in the school law, he held discussion meetings in various parts of the state in order that county school officials might fully understand what was expected of them under the law. At these gatherings he rarely failed to emphasize the need for better county administration and to offer pertinent suggestions for improving the administrative personnel.[162] The county officials, of course, sought his advice on a wide variety of questions ranging from the love affairs of teachers to the handling of school funds.[163] Brooks frequently acted as arbiter in local disputes over school matters. For example, in July, 1921, he instructed one of his assistants to "hold yourself in readiness to go with me to Charlotte ... to help settle a difficulty there over the question of consolidation ... Together we might go over the

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[162] News and Observer, August 28, 1919; News and Observer, August 31, 1920; News and Observer, April 19, 1923.

[163] See for examples E. C. Brooks to S. W. Savage, January 12, 1921; E. C. Brooks to T. T. Hicks, September 22, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence. Another tedious problem for Brooks concerned state-adopted textbooks. There was a shortage of such books at the opening of schools every year between 1919 and 1923. Several organizations complained about state-adopted textbooks in history--a problem that was rather widespread in the post war period. See the rather voluminous correspondence on the subject in Box B-3, General (M-R) "Textbook Commission," S. P. I. Correspondence; Jacob Jacowitz, "History Textbooks Under Fire," Journal of the National Education Association XI (March, 1922), pp. 117-8.

territory and see if we can help the people to reach an agreement."[164]

One aspect of county school administration that especially attracted Brooks' attention was the handling of school funds by local officials. County school finances were generally in a chaotic condition. There were grossly inadequate records of receipts and expenditures, negligence and carelessness in disbursing school funds, and indifference to the legal taxation procedures. In 1919 fourteen counties failed to levy the full rate of state taxes because of "carelessness or ignorance of the law."[165] Brooks recognized that his school program would be largely nullified if he allowed this appalling disorder in county school finances to continue. The first remedial step was to secure for each county a superintendent who was a qualified school man and a skillful business manager. In order to provide such a corps of county superintendents Brooks sought to arouse public opinion through a publicity campaign exposing the condition of school finances and showing the relative inexpensiveness of competent school officials. His remedy provided for the formulation of standards for county school officials by the state which would be enforced by the Department of Public

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[164] E. C. Brooks to L. C. Brogden, July 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[165] Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, p. 11.

Instruction.[166]

Largely through Brooks' influence the first step in curbing the chaos in county school administration and finances was taken by the legislature of 1919. Under the County Budget Act, passed that year, the distribution of state funds was closely linked to the approval of the county school budgets by the State Superintendent. Since the state paid a part of the salaries of teachers and local superintendents, Brooks obviously possessed considerable power over county school administration. The method of financing the schools changed several times between 1919 and 1923, but he managed to retain a direct control over superintendents' salaries throughout his administration. During the first year of the new school laws (1919) many counties continued to conduct school affairs in the usual slipshod fashion. Brooks impressed this fact upon the special session of the legislature of 1920 in a candid report. He strongly recommended "a system of county auditing" and an elevation of the standards of county superintendents.[168] The legislators rejected the first recommendation, but they did authorize him to formulate a state salary schedule for superintendents "based upon training, duties, professional fitness,

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166 Ibid., pp. 10-12, 15; North Carolina Education XV (October, 1920, p. 5.

167 Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 276-79.

168 Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, pp. 10-12.

and continued service in the same school system."[169]

The superintendents, therefore, were included in the certification program which Brooks enforced through his control of state funds used in paying their salaries. His salary schedule drawn up in 1920 classified superintendents largely on the basis of the size and type of their school systems and the amount of time devoted to school affairs. The maximum salary for a superintendent with a class A certificate was $3,500 per annum.[170] In the next year Brooks revised the certification program establishing the minimum requirements for a superintendent's certificate to include graduation from a standard A-grade college, eighteen semester hours of professional credit, and five years of experience as a teacher or principal. The duties of the superintendent according to the size and type of school system continued to serve as a partial basis for the salary schedule.[171] In his report to Governor Morrison in 1922 Brooks wrote:

> The most expensive part of a county school system is an inefficient county superintendent, and it is tragic to see the children of a county seeking an education while the administration flounders hopelessly in an attempt to spend the people's money wisely. The efficiency of the county superintendent, however, has improved greatly within the past three years. This improve-

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169 Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1920, p. 115.

170 Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, p. 15.

171 Regulations Governing Certificates For Teachers in North Carolina, 1921, (Educational Publication No. 29), pp. 7-8.

ment is one of the most noticeable features of our educational progress. A large majority of the counties have very competent men who are rendering exceptionally fine service.[172]

Indeed, there was a veritable revolution in the qualifications of county superintendents during Brooks' administration. Moreover, the average salary of the superintendents increased from $1,509.64 in 1919 to $2,995.15 in 1923, and there was a spectacular growth in the number of so-called supervisors employed by counties to aid in the supervision of classroom instruction.[173]

Despite the improvement in the character of county administration, Brooks believed that additional legislation was necessary in order to insure the proper handling of local school funds. He continued to insist upon a system of county auditing that he had first proposed in 1920. During the fall of that year he gathered sufficient evidence to convince the forthcoming legislature of the pressing need for a system of auditing county school funds. A group headed by A. S. Brower, one of Brooks' ablest assistants, undertook an investigation of school finances in several counties.[174] The report of the investigation, submitted to Brooks late in November, 1920, revealed a maze of confusion in collecting and expending county school funds. For example, the Register of Deeds office in Burke County was "al-

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[172] Biennial Report, 1920-1922, p. 16.

[173] Biennial Report, 1918-1920, pp. 13, 33; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, pp. 50-3, 32.

[174] E. C. Brooks to T. L. Sigman, November 15, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

most totally devoid of tax records."[175] Fortified with such appalling facts Brooks succeeded in persuading the legislature of 1921 to enact a system of county auditing. The legislative act provided that the books of the county school fund and the accounts of the county board of education should be audited by August 1 of each year. These records were to contain an itemized statement of the various tax receipts and school expenditures. The auditor was to compare the expenditures with the approved county school budget and to publish his report in a local newspaper. Upon the failure of any county to provide for such auditing, the State Superintendent would send an auditor from the State Tax Commission whose expense would be borne by the county board of education. If a county superintendent failed "to keep the records of the county board of education so they can be audited," the State Board of Education could revoke his certificate.[176] Through the auditors' reports Brooks learned whether counties had provided for teachers' salaries, buildings, and other expenses in accordance with the budgets previously approved by him. The first audits under the law of 1921 indicated that some counties were still "in a bewildered maze to account for funds as the law required."[177] Brooks as-

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[175] A. S. Brower, "Confidential Report to the State Superintendent on Burke, Mitchell, and Caswell Counties," S. P. I. Correspondence.

[176] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 412-15.

[177] News and Observer, September 2, 1921.

sured the county superintendents in no uncertain terms that he would exercise his full authority to enforce the legal method of managing county school finances.[178] Gradually he brought the county school officials in line with the legal requirements, and by the end of his administration the handling of county school funds had undergone a remarkable reformation.

Obviously the efficient administration of county schools depended in large part upon the degree of competence and cooperation manifested by other departments of county government, especially the board of commissioners. Brooks, therefore, wrote into the school law of 1923 provisions designed to eliminate the friction between the commissioners and boards of education in many counties over school funds.[179] His amendments included a major revisal of the system of county budgets. Under the amended law the board of education and the commissioners convened in joint session each May to prepare a county school budget "for the next ensuing year." Whenever in doubt about "the reasonableness of the budget," the commissioners could require the board of education to "give the cause of the increase, district by district, and the difference between the total salaries of the current year ... and the proposed salaries for the ensuing school year." After approving the May budget, the commissioners were to levy the necessary taxes and could require

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[178] News and Observer, November 23, 1921.

[179] News and Observer, January 29, 1923.

the board of education to publish the budget in the local newspaper. A second budget, prepared by the county board of education by November 15 of each year, carried a detailed statement of county school finances and teaching personnel. The November budget revealed the discrepancies between the estimates of the May budget and the actual cost of school operation under that budget. Brooks used the November budget "to ascertain whether the teachers are properly certificated, whether the number of teachers is excessive, and whether the authorized salary schedule is observed." His approval of this budget was necessary before a county could receive its full share of the state equalizing fund.[180]

The amended school law of 1923 changed the legal procedure in cases of disagreement between the county commissioners and board of education over the amount of taxes necessary to maintain the schools for six months. Previously the board of education alone could appeal to the courts in case of such disagreement. Under the revised law the clerk of the superior court was to act as a kind of arbiter, but if he failed to settle the difficulty satisfactorily, the commissioners also could resort to court action.[181] This provision was actually a compromise resulting from a difference of opinion between

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[180] The Public School Law of North Carolina: Codification of 1923, pp. 44-49.

[181] Ibid., pp. 49-51.

Brooks and the education committees of the legislature of 1923. Another enactment of that year restricted the power of the county board of education in contracting debts beyond the county budget.[182] In the past some county boards created large school debts, then demanded that the commissioners levy sufficient taxes to cover them. Brooks was "immensely gratified" with the passage of his amendments which he believed would completely "eradicate charges of irresponsible administration by county school authorities."[183] Indeed, his campaign for efficient county school administration was considerably strengthened by the enactments of 1923. In one of his last public addresses as State Superintendent, Brooks was still insisting that "good business management" was "the greatest need of the school system."[184]

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[182] Ibid., p. 18.

[183] News and Observer, January 24, 1923.

[184] News and Observer, April 19, 1923.

Chapter VIII

STATE SCHOOL MASTER: PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND CONSOLIDATION, SECONDARY AND NEGRO EDUCATION, AND STATE ADMINISTRATION

The construction of schools and the consolidation of districts were among Brooks' most important achievements as State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The interruption of the school building program during the First World War coupled with the increasing school enrollment after 1919 created a great demand for new buildings. According to the survey of the Educational Commission published in 1920, "a majority of the rural school houses--probably three fourths--are unsatisfactory." Even the "newer" buildings constructed since 1914 exhibited many of the defects of the older structures especially in location, lighting, and ventilation.[1] Nevertheless,

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[1] A Report of the State Educational Commission, pp. 14-19.

when Brooks became State Superintendent, circumstances appeared to be favorable for carrying out an adequate school building program. In the school law of 1919 he inserted a clause allowing counties to exceed the tax rate limitation of thirty-five cents in order to provide a maximum building fund of twenty-five per cent of the teacher salary fund.[2] In the same year the State Supreme Court declared that school buildings were a part of the necessary expense in maintaining the constitutional six months' term and could be provided by the county commissioners by taxation without a vote of the people.[3]

From personal observation and work with the State Educational Commission Brooks recognized that the major defects in school house construction resulted from inadequate supervision and planning.[4] He desired to insure the erection of schools in accordance with sound architectural and educational principles by possessing the power to force counties to meet certain standards. In public addresses and articles in North Carolina Education he strongly advised county officials to take into account "future needs" in building school houses and insisted

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[2] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, p. 279. The legislature of 1919 also appropriated $2000 for the preparation of school house plans and for the inspection of school buildings. Ibid., p. 466.

[3] North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Fall Term, 1919, pp. 305-14.

[4] A Report of the State Educational Commission, pp. 19-22.

that a "good architect is always less expensive in the long run."[5] Brooks, however, realized that county boards of education would continue to build schools as cheaply as possible with little regard for his advice unless he had authority to enforce it. At a time when his power over school building programs was largely advisory, he calculated that "$7,000,000 worth of new buildings [would be] in prospect before Christmas," 1919.[6]

In July, 1919, Brooks began his search for some means to exert a more direct influence upon the school building program. After conferring with officials of the General Education Board and with Governor Bickett, he secured promise of financial support for a division in the Department of Public Instruction which would prepare plans for school buildings and supervise their construction upon request from the counties.[7] In the special session of the legislature in August, 1920, Brooks got an appropriation for this purpose. County boards of education were prohibited from investing "any money in any new house that is not built in accordance with plans approved by the State

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[5] E. C. Brooks, "A School Building Program Needed," North Carolina Education XIV (September, 1919), p. 4. See also E. C. Brooks to H. G. Harrington, September 24, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence; News and Observer, August 19, 1919; July 27, 1919; October 10, 1919.

[6] E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, August 17, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[7] Frank Bachman to E. C. Brooks, July 19, 1919; Frank Bachman to E. C. Brooks, July 28, 1919; E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, August 17, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Superintendent." Brooks also secured amendments to the State-wide Bond Act which lifted certain restrictions from the issuance of school bonds. Any county, city, township or school district was authorized to issue bonds upon a popular vote of approval to an amount not in excess of five per cent of the property valuation in the area involved. Another provision allowed counties to pay all or any part of the costs of school building.[8] The old law had required the local districts to pay at least one half of the costs, but according to Brooks, "many districts will never have a decent school building as long as that provision of the law stands."[9] Moreover, the amendment promoted his policy of making the county, rather than the local district, the unit of school administration. Brooks lost no time in exerting his new authority over the school building programs of the various counties. In September, 1920, he created the division of schoolhouse planning in his department and appointed J. J. Blair, formerly superintendent of Wilmington schools, as director. Within four months Blair visited twenty-one towns and rural communities in order to assist them in planning and designing new schools.[10]

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[8] Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1920, pp.116-17; North Carolina Education XV (September, 1920), pp. 3-4; New School Legislation, 1920 and 1921 (Educational Publication No. 12), pp. 8-9.

[9] N. C. Brooks to Charles Coon, May 11, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[10] North Carolina Education, XV (October, 1920), p. 14. See Specifications and Bill of Materials For the Louisiana-

Brooks readily perceived the necessity to possess considerable control over building finances in order to enforce the regulations of the division of schoolhouse planning. According to his estimates, the demands for new buildings in August, 1920, amounted to "over $15,000,000." Unless his authority were strengthened, he feared that the counties would "waste" much of this fund by haphazardly locating schools and by disregarding architectural plans formulated by the division of schoolhouse planning. In other words, he wanted the General Assembly to put teeth in the act of 1920 which gave him supervision of the building program without providing the necessary financial lever.[11] Through Brooks' influence the legislature of 1921 created a special building fund of $5,000,000. The provisions of the act, written by Brooks, clearly incorporated his idea of the county as the unit of educational administration, for counties, not districts, were to receive loans from this fund. Moreover, loans were not available for any proposed school house of less than five rooms and for any building not approved by Brooks. The counties would repay the loans in twenty annual installments.[12]

North Carolina School House Plan No. 400 (Educational Publication No. 14).

[11] E. C. Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, p. 12; Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 12; E. C. Brooks to C. E. Boren, January 3, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[12] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 422-26; News and Observer, February 7, 1921; E. C. Brooks to E. W. Walker, March 9, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Brooks encountered considerable difficulty in selling the state bonds at the specified interest rate to create the special building fund. After prolonged negotiations, he finally sold the bonds on November 4, 1921, and promised loans to the counties by the beginning of the next year.[13] Meanwhile, the constitutionality of the act establishing the building fund had been contested, and Brooks had to await a Supreme Court decision before he could make the loans available. In April, 1922, the Court validated the act and upheld the right of boards of education and commissioners to contract a twenty year debt for school buildings and to pledge its payment with interest through the levy of a county tax without a vote of the people. Brooks declared: "Everybody is delighted. Even the Supreme Court is delighted, and this decision helped us more than any decision since 1907 when the old Berksdale decision was reversed. It has strengthened confidence in the Department of Education...."[14] Shortly thereafter, Brooks began the distribution of the loan fund, and by January 1, 1923, he had distributed $3,300,000 to assist in financing new school houses valued at $9,024,635, approximately the total value of all school property in the state

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[13] E. C. Brooks to M. I. Edgerton, May 2, 1921; E. C. Brooks to W. A. Graham, May 23, 1921; E. C. Brooks to W. S. Robeson, November 5, 1921; E. C. Brooks to J. S. Manning, January 19, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[14] E. C. Brooks to J. J. Blair, April 24, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence. See also North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Spring Term, 1922, pp. 373-82.

in 1914.[15] He also persuaded the legislature of 1923 to authorize another bond issue of $5,000,000 to encourage the construction of school houses.[16] During Brooks' administration the total value of school property increased from $16,294,859 in 1919 to $48,874,830 in 1923.[17] This expansion of school facilities was unequaled by any comparable period in the educational history of the state. In many respects Brooks himself was responsible for the unprecedented building program and for the construction of "adequate" school houses. His particular interest in rural education was evidenced by the remarkable improvement in rural school buildings which were financed largely through aid from state loans.[18]

Brooks encouraged the consolidation of rural school districts in connection with the building program. During his administration the rapid growth in motor vehicle transportation and the improvement of highways especially under Governor Morrison greatly mitigated the isolation of rural areas.[19] Since these improvements reduced the necessity for numerous rural school districts, Brooks undertook a broad program of consolidation

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15 Biennial Report, 1920-1924, p. 13.

16 Public School Law: Codification of 1923, pp. 71-75.

17 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 110; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, p. 98.

18 Brooks, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: An Autobiographical Sketch," p. 4; of. Biennial Report, 1920-1922, pp. 18-9.

19 Hobbs, North Carolina: Economic and Social, pp. 163-66.

which furthered his attempt to make the county rather than the district the unit of school administration. Largely through his influence the legislature incorporated the "county unit" plan into the regulations for the distribution of the State Public School Fund and the special building funds. The school law of 1919 clearly prohibited the formation of any new school districts.[20] A year later, Brooks declared: "We are having the greatest interest in the consolidation of districts that the state has ever known."[21] Nevertheless, he recognized the need for some weapon by which to force recalcitrant counties to consolidate small rural districts into larger units in order to establish large schools with efficient faculties and adequate equipment. Late in 1920 he prepared amendments to the school laws which invested him with the power necessary to enforce consolidation.[22]

These amendments, passed by the legislature of 1921, provided a great stimulus to Brooks' county unit plan. The special building fund of $5,000,000 was restricted to use in building school houses with five or more rooms, and the loans from the

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[20] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 279- For a statement of Brooks' ideas on the "county unit" plan see Biennial Report, 1918-1919, p. 13.

[21] E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, May 11, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[22] E. C. Brooks to M. J. Manning, December 2, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

fund were made solely to counties, not local districts.[23] The county boards of education were given wider authority in consolidating districts. Brooks was delighted with this provision and wrote a friend: "The county board of education is given authority to consolidate whenever and wherever in its judgment consolidation is wise and ... about the only requirement is the wish of the people."[24] Previously, elaborate restrictions protected the autonomy of the local district from the county board of education. Brooks was convinced that adequate educational opportunites for rural children depended upon "strong central schools" established through the consolidation of small districts. Such schools, according to him, would produce "large community centers" and erase the "clannishness and neighborhood feuds" perpetuated by small, competitive district schools.[25] Favorable Supreme Court decisions coupled with the pressure that Brooks exerted upon counties through his control of state school funds greatly promoted the consolidation movement.[26] Despite Joyner's efforts toward consolidation, the number of districts was about the same in 1918 as in

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[23] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 422-26.

[24] E. C. Brooks to I. A. Cain, March 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[25] E. C. Brooks to Lee L. Davis, October 23, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[26] E. C. Brooks to W. J. Adams, November 9, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence; North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Fall Term, 1922, pp. 342-55.

1902, while Brooks under more favorable circumstances abolished 756 districts between 1919 and 1923. In the same period the number of schools with four or more teachers increased from 444 to 893, while the number of one teacher schools decreased from 4437 to 3240.[27]

The creation of large districts and consolidated schools necessitated a more adequate system of pupil transportation. There were only six motor trucks used in the entire state in 1915 in transporting school pupils.[28] Brooks considered adequate means of transportation necessary for the success of his consolidation program. He argued that the difference between the cost of instruction in the consolidated school and in several small schools would cover the cost of pupil transportation. Moreover, he declared that motor trucks had become as essential to the school system as buildings.[29] He induced the legislature of 1920 to permit counties to include the operation expenses of motor trucks in the school budgets and to receive state aid for them on the same basis as for teachers' salaries. In the following year he wrote into the law an amend-

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27 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 205; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, p. 110; Tripp, "James Y. Joyner's Contribution to Education," (M. A. Thesis), pp. 189-90.

28 L. C. Brogden, A Larger Type of Rural School An Imperative Need (Educational Bulletin No. 36), pp. 12-3.

29 E. C. Brooks, The Consolidation of Schools and the Cost of Transportation (Educational Publication No. 53), pp. 3-5.

ment exempting school trucks from taxation.[30] Under the impetus of this legislation the school transportation facilities expanded very rapidly during Brooks' administration. In 1919 there were 247 trucks hauling 7936 children; by 1923 there were 858 trucks hauling 31,544 children.[31]

An important phase of Brooks' consolidation program concerned the establishment and improvement of public high schools. In 1917 the Supreme Court had declared that high schools were a vital and necessary part of the school system.[32] At the close of his second year in office Brooks described the chaotic conditions of these schools:

> It is very difficult to secure accurate information concerning the scope of high school instruction in North Carolina, since so many schools not even prepared to give good instruction in elementary subjects attempt to give in addition one or more years of high school instruction. The report for 1918-1919 shows 564 schools of all sorts attempting to give such instruction. For 1919-1920 we are able to secure information from 455 schools that seek to give one or more years of high school instruction ... A good four year high school, however, cannot be conducted successfully with less than three teachers. There are 214 such schools in the State. The total enrollment in them is 22,140 and the number completing a four year course is 2,536. This is 11% of the total enrollment. In addition to these there are 241 one-teacher and two-teacher high schools seeking to give four year courses. The enrollment in these

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30 Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1920, p. 116; Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, p. 464; E. C. Brooks to E. S. Cobb, February 2, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

31 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 13; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, p. 115.

32 North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Fall Term, 1917, pp. 469-77.

for 1919-1920 was 8,728, but the number completing the four year course was only 726 ... [33]

The report of the State Educational Commission corroborated Brooks' description of the high schools and condemned the prevalent custom of establishing high schools "at every crossroads."[34]

Brooks insisted upon consolidated high schools large enough to provide the facilities and instruction necessary for training elementary school teachers. Indeed, his teacher training program required the building of such schools.[35] Prodded by his demands and the Supreme Court decision, the legislatures of 1919 and 1920 clearly recognized the high schools as an essential part of the public school system and sought to encourage the establishment of such schools. The high school teachers and principals were included in Brooks' certification program and salary schedule, and parts of their salaries were paid by the state.[36] In 1920 Brooks induced the legislature to provide additional aid for establishing at least one standard high school in each county.[37] Loans from the special building fund

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33 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 11.

34 Report of the State Educational Commission, pp. 37-9.

35 Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, pp. 12-3.

36 Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 289-91.

37 Public Laws and Resolutions, Special Session, 1920, p. 115.

created in 1921 were available for the construction of high school buildings. Obviously, Brooks' control of the various state funds for schools provided him with a potent instrument for reorganizing secondary education.

Shortly after the enactment of the school law of 1919 Brooks declared: "It will be our purpose to organize high schools wherever we can consolidate and secure students for the same."[38] In reorganizing the system of high schools he worked closely with J. Henry Highsmith, the new state inspector of high schools. Brooks sent out several members of his department to study the actual conditions of the secondary schools.[39] His aim was to establish efficient high schools with adequate facilites and to eliminate those with one or two teachers attempting to give a four year course. His county unit plan envisaged "the building of high schools so conveniently located that all children of the county may have good high school advantages without going away from home."[40] This policy was considerably strengthened in 1921 by a legislative appropriation of $224,000 for various phases of high school work. This additional financial

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[38] The law of 1919 provided that the apportioning of state funds for the partial payment of high school principals' salaries was to be based upon the number of teachers in the school and the average daily attendance of pupils. E. C. Brooks to George Spinkle, August 11, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[39] E. C. Brooks to E. C. Sage, March 6, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[40] E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, August 30, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

aid enabled Brooks to undertake seriously the reorganization of high schools.[41]

One of his first steps was to formulate new "rules and regulations governing public high schools" which could be relatively easily enforced in schools receiving state funds.[42] The classification of high schools provided a partial basis for the apportionment of the equalizing fund in 1922-1923. The minimum requirements for a "standard" high school were an eight months term, a four year course of study, three teachers, and at least forty-five pupils in average daily attendance. Brooks suggested one additional teacher for every twenty-five students above the minimum average daily attendance.[43] Then, in 1922 Highsmith published a course of study for high schools with pertinent suggestions on a variety of subjects and an elaborate bibliography.[44]

Brooks realized that all these suggestions and requirements would have little affect without an adequate plan of inspection. Highsmith did not have time "to give the supervision necessary," so in 1921 Brooks requested and received the assist-

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[41] E. C. Brooks to J. H. Cowles, December 7, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[42] E. C. Brooks to N. W. Walker, March 9, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; Rules and Regulations Governing Public High Schools 1921-22 (Educational Publication No. 35).

[43] Standardization and Classification of Public High Schools in North Carolina, 1921-22 (Educational Publication No. 60), pp. 8-10; E. C. Brooks, "The Relationship of School Organization to School Costs," North Carolina Education XVI (March, 1922), pp.10-12

[44] Courses of Study for the High Schools of North Carolina (Educational Publication No. 52).

ance of eleven colleges in providing inspection of high schools. The state was divided into districts each of which was assigned to the education department of a college. The professors of education were to inspect and supervise at first hand all public high schools in their respective districts and file reports with the state inspector of high schools. The main purpose of this scheme was to furnish advice to local officials on establishing efficient high schools and to inform Brooks of the degree to which his high school regulations were carried out in the various countries.[45] A county that persisted in disregarding these regulations could almost certainly expect some reduction in its share of state funds. Brooks persuaded the General Education Board to donate $3000 to finance his high school inspection program.[46]

One aspect of the high school program which particularly interested Brooks was high school training for rural children. His original aim was to establish at least one standard high school in every county.[47] He considered the "union school" with eleven grades as the ideal rural school[48] and utilized all

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[45] E. C. Brooks to C. E. Brewer, December 9, 1920; E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, April 16, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; News and Observer, October 8, 1921; North Carolina Education XVI (September, 1921), p. 13.

[46] E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, April 16, 1921; E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, February 10, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[47] E. C. Brooks, "One Standard High School For Every County," North Carolina Education XVI (May, 1922), pp. 5-6.

[48] Biennial Report, 1920-1922, p. 21; E. C. Brooks to J. F. Landen, December 2, 1922; E. C. Brooks to Lee L. Driver, October 23, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

means at his disposal in promoting the establishment of such schools through the consolidation of small rural districts.[49] In describing his rural high school policy in 1923 Brooks wrote: "What our country boys and girls need especially is an expansion of their community--to feel the social and intellectual force of a larger number of people ... It seems to me to be a crime against youth to bottle up children in little communities when we are supposed to be educating them, and deprive them of that social intercourse that all modern inventions would facilitate, if the schools were not too narrow-visioned to use them."[50]

The rapid growth and improvement of public high schools between 1919 and 1923 indicated the effectiveness of Brooks' program. In 1920 there were no standard high schools in the rural districts of thirty-five counties and no standard high schools whatever in thirty counties, while the total number of all types of high schools in the state, both standard and non-standard, was 455. By the end of Brooks' administration in 1923 ninety-five counties possessed a standard high school with at least three teachers, an eight months term, and a four year course. The total number of such schools in the state was 316.

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[49] In 1920 Brooks declared that "unquestionably the salvation of our rural districts is in the consolidation of small school districts and in building strong high schools within reach of all the children." E. C. Brooks to Clarence Poe, October 18, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[50] E. C. Brooks, "High Schools for Rural Boys and Girls," Progressive Farmer XXXVIII (June 23, 1923), p. 646.

There were 5,795 public high school graduates in 1923 in comparison to 2,040 in 1919. In the same period the total enrollment in high schools increased from 23,461 pupils to 50,041 pupils. The number of high schools in North Carolina accredited by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States rose from thirty-one in 1921 to forty-four in 1923.[51] Near the end of his administration Brooks considered "the building of standard high schools in the rural districts" second in significance only to the improvement in the teaching personnel that occurred under him .[52] In reviewing the progress in secondary education between 1919 and 1923 he declared: "This is a tremendous gain, but we should have in the near future one such [standard high] school ... in every township ... in the state, if we would make the rural sections strong and vigorous and contribute more largely to the progress of the State."[53]

One of the most significant phases of Brooks' high school program, especially for rural areas, was the rapid development of vocational education. Since 1911 the state had promoted the establishment of farm-life schools, a movement heartily en-

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51 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 11; Biennial Report, 1920-1922, pp. 22-3; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, pp. 29-30; Classification and Standardization of Public High Schools, 1922-1923. pp. 23-4.

52 E. C. Brooks to J. E. Morgan, December 15, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

53 Biennial Report, 1920-1922, p. 22.

dorsed by Brooks in North Carolina Education. In 1917 the legislature accepted the federal aid for vocational education provided by the Smith-Hughes Act, thereby eliminating the need for farm-life schools.[54] Under the Smith-Hughes Act the federal government would match state funds for vocational instruction in high schools. The First World War delayed the full implementation of this act in North Carolina. However, a department of vocational education for the training of teachers was established at North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering in 1917. Shortly afterward, a similar department was created at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College for training Negro teachers.[55] In 1918-1919 the total expenditure for vocational education including state and federal funds was $45,864.14 for 551 persons enrolled in all aspects of the program.[56] Brooks insisted that the Federal Board of Vocational Education "should never interfere with the autonomy of the states in the plans and management of vocational education." In 1920 he declared that North Carolina had never been bothered with such interference.[57]

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[54] Tripp, "James Y. Joyner's Contribution to Education," pp. 150-51.

[55] Cook, "The Federal Government and Vocational Education in the South," Secondary Education in the South, p. 93.

[56] Financial and Statistical Information for A. T. Allen, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[57] E. C. Brooks to W. Carson Ryan, Jr., August 30, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

At the beginning of Brooks' administration in 1919 the legislature amended and extended the provisions of the vocational education act of 1917. It created a Board of Vocational Education of which Brooks was chairman. The three other members were representatives of industry, agriculture, and home economics.[58] Within a year there were three state supervisors in charge of agricultural education, industrial and trade education, and home economics education. State College and North Carolina College For Women expanded their facilities for training vocational teachers, and the Department of Public Instruction set up a certification plan for such teachers. The program of agricultural education included supervised farm projects for school boys, short courses for farmers, and the organization of community fairs. The work in industrial education was largely restricted to evening and extension classes for laborers in twenty-two cities, particularly textile centers. The home economics program which was actually begun in 1920 included regular high school classes for girls and short courses for farm women.[59] The instruction in vocational subjects for

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[58] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1919, pp. 467-69; North Carolina Education XIV (December, 1919), pp. 8-9; E. C. Brooks to Martha Brooks, January 6, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence. The Board of Vocational Education selected T. E. Browne as Director of Vocational Education.

[59] Annual Report of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1919, pp. 110-12; Annual Report of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1920, pp. 155-7. In 1920 the Department of Public Instruction began publishing a newsletter designed to keep vocational teachers abreast of trends in vocational education. See Mid-Winter Letter No. I (February, 1920).

adults as well as school children was an important element in Brooks' plan for making the public high school a rural "community center."[60] Brooks always attempted to provide space and facilities in high schools for those vocational subjects that corresponded to the predominant occupations of the community in which the school was located. Therefore, he emphasized agricultural and home economics courses, since the state was largely rural.[61]

During Brooks' administration the program of vocational education in public high schools was firmly established and rapidly expanded largely through the increasing amounts of financial aid. The annual funds increased from $45,364.14 in 1918 to $204,104.99 in 1922. In the same period agriculture was introduced in forty-five high schools and home economics in fifty, while the number of classes in industrial and trade subjects increased from five to 180 with an enrollment of 2103.[62] Under a congressional act of 1920 the state undertook a program "for the vocational rehabilitation of civilians disabled in industry and otherwise." Within two years Brooks counted 100 disabled persons whose special training through this program

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60 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 15.

61 E. C. Brooks to Josephus Daniels, May 25, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; Biennial Report, 1920-1922, pp. 24-26; Annual Report of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1921, pp. 179-82; T. E. Browne, Report to the State Board of Vocational Education, 1919-20, S. P. I. Correspondence; Brooks, "High Schools for Rural Boys and Girls," Progressive Farmer XXXVIII (June 23, 1923), p. 646.

62 Biennial Report, 1918-1920, p. 15; Biennial Report, 1920-1922, pp. 24-6.

converted them into "happy, self-supporting citizens."[63] After becoming president of North Carolina State College, Brooks maintained a keen interest in vocational education in public schools and cooperated with his successor, A. T. Allen, in "the development of rural North Carolina, using the rural consolidated school as the center of community life."[64]

II

One of the most spectacular achievements of Brooks as State Superintendent was the development of public schools for Negroes. Indeed, he was a prominent figure, if not the leader, in the so-called "golden period of Negro education" from 1920 to 1927.[65] His accomplishments are thrown into a more significant light when viewed in terms of the progress of Negro education under his predecessor. One student has declared that the education of Negroes received less of Joyner's time, consideration, and support than any other phase of his public school program. Joyner, however, labored under peculiarly un-

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[63] The department of industrial rehabilitation within the Division of Vocational Education was organized on July 1, 1921. See Report of the Work of the State Board of Vocational Education to the Governor, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[64] A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, October 30, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[65] Dennis Cooke, The White Superintendent and the Negro Schools in North Carolina (Nashville, 1930), p. 19.

favorable political circumstances. At the end of his administration "the Negroes had school houses not much improved over those of 1902; their rural school terms were usually no longer than the minimum requirement; and their school equipment still remained crude, meager and inadequate."[66] Nor was there a standard Negro high school or farm-life school in the state in 1919. The main impetus for Negro education was the financial support of such agencies as the General Education Board, Jeanes Foundation, Slater Fund and Rosenwald Fund.[67]

For years Brooks had recognized the pressing need for better Negro schools. Moreover, he thoroughly understood the political, economic, and social ramifications of the "problem" of Negro education. He realized too that the solution could not be left to county and local officials; they had clearly demonstrated their inability or unwillingness to grapple with the problem. Some other agency, preferably the state, must furnish the stimulus necessary for building a system of public schools for Negroes. Brooks' broad and tactful approach to the problem was largely responsible for providing the initial stimulus. He cooperated with Negro leaders in the state, courted the favor of philanthropic agencies interested in Negro education, and utilized diplomacy and skill in presenting the question to the

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[66] Tripp, "James Y. Joyner's Contribution to Education," p. 168.

[67] Ibid., pp. 176-78.

General Assembly. Brooks was by no means a radical on the subject of race relations, and he undoubtedly would have considered absurd any suggestion to abolish segregation in the public schools.[68] But he possessed a sympathetic attitude toward the Negro and believed that education would enable the race to assume its responsibilities of citizenship. In 1921 he wrote Julius Rosenwald: "The psychology of the negro is interesting. If he is expected to be helpless, he will be helpless. If he is expected to be self-supporting, he will try to become self-supporting."[69] One of Brooks' primary aims in developing Negro education was to assist the Negro to "feel his own responsibility in remaking his own race."[70]

In his opinion a frank exchange of ideas between Negro leaders and members of the Department of Public Instruction was a prerequisite for a successful program of Negro education. At a conference with Negroes in Winston-Salem in February, 1919, Brooks outlined his plans for the establishment of Negro high schools which he considered very necessary for providing teachers for elementary schools.[71] He again explained his aims for Negro education at a conference of the so-called Jeanes industrial

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[68] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

[69] E. C. Brooks to Julius Rosenwald, December 30, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[70] Ibid.

[71] E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, March 5, 1919; E. C. Brooks to C. G. Atkins, February 18, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

teachers in Winston-Salem in April.[72] These meetings apparently assured the Negroes of his sincere desire to improve their educational advantages and convinced Brooks of the value of his discussions with Negroes. He thus decided to call a statewide conference of Negroes prominent in education and other fields. In organizing this meeting he worked closely with N. C. Newbold, who had been state agent of rural Negro elementary schools since 1913, and Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the National Training School in Durham and a leader in the Negro State Teachers Association.[73] Brooks wrote Shepard:

> We are planning many improvements in teacher training, high school instruction, erection of schoolhouses, and other educational needs of the colored people. Our summer's work has given us a new direction. You are acquainted with our summer school work and its far reaching effects. While we are discussing these very important things, it is my judgment that we should discuss ways and means by which we may eliminate much of the distrust that seems to be in evidence here and there in our state. I think it would be wise for you and your committee to be considering some platform that both the white and colored people might stand on that would be of mutual interest to all concerned.[74]

On September 26, 1919 Brooks opened the conference in the House of Representatives with an address on his plans for Negro schools and the need for the cooperation of Negroes in building a reputable educational system for their race. Then, the

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[72] North Carolina Education XIII (May, 1919), p. 5.

[73] James E. Shepard to E. C. Brooks, September 16, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[74] E. C. Brooks to James E. Shepard, September 25, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

group, composed of thirty-eight Negro leaders, discussed the organization and aims of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People. They also agreed to hold county conferences between Negro and white citizens whenever feasible in order to improve race relations in the state.[75]

The conference adopted a Declaration of Principles as a guide in creating "an unprecedented era of good feeling" between the races, especially in public education. Brooks considered it as a "common ground of safety upon which leaders of both races can stand" in the development of Negro schools. The Declaration condemned lynching, legal injustices to Negroes, "intermingling of the races on terms of social equality," and race riots. It endorsed Brooks' leadership and declared that "there never was a time in North Carolina when the state was so ready to give adequate educational opportunities to Negroes." Therefore, the Negroes were advised to "quit harping on the injustices done previously by the white man and realize that he is ready to help."[76] Both Brooks and the Negro leaders including C. C. Spaulding and Dr. Shepard believed that the con-

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[75] Outline of the Conference, September 26, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence. A gathering of Negro and white citizens in Cumberland County in October, 1919 passed resolutions thanking Brooks for his efforts to produce harmonious race relations in the state. E. E. Smith to E. C. Brooks, October 15, 1919; E.C. Brooks to E. E. Smith, October 16, 1919, S.P.I. Correspondence.

[76] A Declaration of Principles by Representative Negroes of North Carolina, September 26, 1919 (Raleigh, n.d.); cf. Declaration of Principles (in Brooks' handwriting), S.P.I. Correspondence.

ference was influential in dissipating prejudice and promoting tolerance and confidence between the races.[77] So effective did Brooks consider the conference that he called similar meetings annually throughout his administration.[78]

The primary need for the development of Negro education, according to Brooks, was an adequate supply of competent teachers, especially for elementary schools. This would require additional teacher training facilities. In 1919 the state supported three Negro normal schools located in Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, and Elizabeth City. In addition, ten counties with the aid of the Slater Fund and General Education Board provided county training schools for Negroes which were actually high schools designed largely for training Negro elementary school teachers.[79] Immediately upon assuming office, Brooks began preparations for expanding the teacher training program for Negroes by gaining additional aid from philanthropic organizations. He apparently concentrated his attention upon the General Education Board and succeeded in winning the confidence and admiration of such important officials of the Board as President

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[77] C. C. Spaulding to E. C. Brooks, October 13, 1919, S.P. I. Correspondence.

[78] E. C. Brooks to S. G. Atkins, July 12, 1920; E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, November 1, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[79] The John F. Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports, 1918, pp. 15-6. Brooks described the county training schools for Negroes as "industrial schools in which home economics, agriculture, and teacher training are provided." They operated for eight months. E. C. Brooks to J. S. Manning, April 20, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Wallace Buttrick and Secretary Abraham Flexner.[80] In March, 1919 Brooks wrote Buttrick that he was "exceedingly anxious to cooperate with the General Education Board" in revamping Negro education in North Carolina.[81] Throughout his administration he kept Buttrick and Flexner fully informed of educational developments in the state and of his plans for the future.[82] In his frequent correspondence and conversations with these men Brooks demonstrated an acute insight into the educational needs of North Carolina Negroes and combined tact and honesty in presenting his suggestions for financial assistance from the Board. His approach was never that of a beggar. In replying to one of Brooks' proposals in 1919 Flexner wrote him: "Your proposition--as well as yourself--are, we think, entirely sound. We are delighted to assure you of our cooperation."[83] The cordial relationship between Brooks and the officials of the General Education Board which rapidly developed into a rather intimate friendship was vividly expressed in the Board's increasing financial aid for the training of Negro teachers.

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[80] Abraham Flexner to Willard Gatewood, Jr., November 21, 1956.

[81] E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, March 5, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[82] See for examples E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, August 30, 1919; E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, May 16, 1920; E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, December 8, 1920; E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, March 15, 1921; S. P. I. Correspondence.

[83] Abraham Flexner to E. C. Brooks, September 1, 1919, S.P.I. Correspondence.

At Brooks' request the General Education Board provided $11,650 for county training schools for Negroes in North Carolina in 1919.[84] This sum coupled with aid from the Slater Fund enabled Brooks to establish nine additional county training schools within one year.[85] At the same time, he attempted to reorganize the three Negro normal schools which were sadly lacking in equipment, buildings, and competent teachers. He frankly described the sorry plight of these schools to the General Education Board and enlisted its support in their reorganization.[86] The Board provided $12,500 for improvements at the Slater State Normal and Industrial School in Winston-Salem.[87] It also fulfilled Brooks' request for financial aid for summer schools for Negroes.[88] The Anna Jeanes Foundation and the Julius Rosenwald Fund also provided valuable assistance to his program of Negro education through their donations for teachers' salaries and buildings.

In 1917 the legislative appropriation was only $3,300 for the enlargement of each of the three Negro normal schools.

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[84] E. C. Brooks to E. C. Sage, June 2, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[85] Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports, 1920, p. 15.

[86] E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, June 26, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[87] Abraham Flexner to E. C. Brooks, June 26, 1919; E. C. Brooks to S. G. Atkins, June 28, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[88] E. C. Sage to E. C. Brooks, March 6, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Brooks, however, persuaded the legislature of 1919 to appropriate $90,000 for the permanent improvement of these schools and to increase the maintenance fund to $35,000.[89] In reply to proposals for a fourth state normal school for Negroes Brooks insisted that the existing institutions should first be raised to something more than secondary schools before the state undertook the establishment of another Negro normal school.[90] At the same time his intention was "to make every effort to improve the efficiency of colored teachers."[91] Brooks utilized a portion of the $50,000 appropriation for teacher training in 1919 for Negroes. In that year eight county summer schools were conducted for Negro teachers. These were joint summer schools with almost every county sharing in their support. Of the 1907 Negro teachers enrolled in these schools almost sixty per cent possessed the lowest certificate or no certificate at all, while only 249 teachers claimed any college training.[92] Other Negro teachers received summer training in colleges and normal schools aided by the state and the General Education

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89 Report of the Superintendent of the State Colored Normal Schools and Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County, 1918-1920 (Educational publication No. 5), p. 7.

90 E. C. Brooks to S. G. Atkins, July 12, 1920; E. C. Brooks to Dr. J. E. Shepard, December 6, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

91 E. C. Brooks to E. C. Sage, March 6, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

92 Report of the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, 1918-1920 (Educational Publication No. 6), p. 9.

Board.[93]

Brooks' certification program and salary schedule, established between 1919 and 1921, included Negro teachers. Moreover, his jurisdiction over state funds for the payment of the salaries of teachers, principals, and superintendents enabled him to enforce the salary schedule for Negroes which, in turn, provided some incentive for Negro teachers to raise their qualifications through summer school training. Shortly before the meeting of the special session of the legislature in 1920 which authorized a revised salary schedule, Brooks declared: "It is my desire to see that justice is done to negro teachers, and my purpose in pleading for a new salary schedule for the negroes was that they might receive at least the same per cent increase that the white teachers receive."[94] He at first thought that one state salary schedule should include all teachers, both Negro and white. But he later decided that it was necessary to establish separate schedules for Negro and white teachers and to raise proportionately the salaries of Negro teachers with lower certificates in order to meet the demands of Negro schools so that actually the difference in the salaries of white and Negro teachers with lower grade certificates was very slight, while the salaries of white teachers with higher grade certifi-

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93 Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, pp. 9-10; E. C. Sage to E. C. Brooks, March 6, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

94 E. C. Brooks to C. H. Moore, May 11, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

cates were considerably more than those of Negroes with similar certificates. This arrangement resulted in a greater salary increase for Negro teachers than for white teachers, because the former generally lacked the requirements for higher certificates.[95] Brooks did not emphasize this point before the legislators who authorized him to prepare a revised salary schedule.[96] The Negro leaders immediately realized the boost that the education of their race would receive from Brooks' salary schedule. C. H. Moore, a Rosenwald agent, wrote Brooks: "I feel very proud of the fact that the Negroes of the state have an advocate 'at court' who is a broad and sympathetic friend of the poor and much-discriminated-against colored teachers."[97]

During the regular session of the General Assembly in 1921 Brooks achieved his greatest success in reorganizing Negro education. He persuaded the Budget Commission to approve an unprecedented appropriation of $400,000 for buildings and equipment at the three Negro normal schools in addition to a maintenance fund more than double that of 1919. Then, he got this budget endorsed by the appropriate committees in the House and

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95 E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, May 31, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence; Teacher Salary Schedule of North Carolina, 1920-21 (Educational Publication No. 30).

96 Brooks, Administration of the Public School System, 1919-1920, pp. 6-7.

97 C. H. Moore to E. C. Brooks, May 10, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence. For a similar expression of gratitude from a Negro leader see S. G. Atkins to E. C. Brooks, August 28, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

Senate.[98] It was approved by the economy-conscious legislature without serious opposition. The fund of $400,000 was more than the total building appropriation for the Negro normal schools since their establishment. In addition to this amount, Brooks managed to get $10,000 from the General Education Board, $2000 from the Rosenwald Fund, and $2500 in contributions from Negroes in the state.[99] Moreover, he gained direct control over the three Negro schools through a legislative act of 1921 placing the state normal schools under the State Board of Education. The financial support provided in that year coupled with an additional $125,000 from the General Education Board in 1922 enabled him to convert these institutions into real normal schools with the facilities necessary to prepare Negro teachers for higher grade certificates.[100]

Also in 1921 Brooks induced the legislature to create a division of Negro education in his department with an annual appropriation of $15,000, another of his major achievements as State Superintendent.[101] On March 15, 1921, the division of Negro education was organized with N. C. Newbold as director.

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98 E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, December 27, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

99 Memorandum to Jackson Davis, January 16, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

100 E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, March 15, 1921; E. C. Brooks to Jackson Davis, April 19, 1921; E. C. Brooks to the General Education Board, April 16, 1923, S. P. I. Correspondence.

101 Public Laws and Resolutions, 1921, pp. 421-22.

By the end of Brooks' administration this division alone contained a staff of nine persons, both white and Negro, a group larger than the entire Department of Public Instruction a decade earlier.[102] Indeed, few of Brooks' accomplishments were a greater source of personal pride to him than the organization and work of the division of Negro education. With eight years of experience as state agent for rural Negro schools Director Newbold was eminently qualified for his new position. His division supervised all phases of Negro education including normal schools, elementary and high schools, and teacher training programs. In 1920 Brooks had induced the General Education Board to increase Newbold's salary as state agent for rural Negro schools from $3000 to $3500, an appropriation that was continued even after the state undertook the support of a division of Negro education.[103]

The work of building a reputable system of public schools for Negroes was necessarily beset with many obstacles. Nevertheless, the division of Negro education attained immediate success at several crucial points. It exposed those "spurious institutions" posing as teacher training centers for Negroes, energetically promoted harmonious race relations, and provided

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102 Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1922-23, p. 41; E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, March 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

103 E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, June 7, 1920; Abraham Flexner to E. C. Brooks, June 11, 1920; Abraham Flexner to E. C. Brooks, May 27, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

competent supervision for the work in elementary and normal schools.[104] In discussing the division of Negro education in 1922 Brooks wrote:

> The creation of the Division of Negro Education, therefore, was very opportune. Its annual cost to the State is negligible ... But the fact that the negroes had representation in the government to whom they could look for guidance gave them a new loyalty to the State. Their cooperation has been phenomenal. The officials of the State [re]presenting this division have secured through their supervision of the rural schools, donations from negroes amounting annually to approximately $100,000. As a result of this supervision the negroes complain considerably less. They are more hopeful and they have caught the spirit of cooperation.[105]

One student of Negro education in North Carolina, writing in 1932, declared that "public secondary schools for Negroes developed slowly until the Division of Negro Education was organized in 1921," then their growth became "constant and fairly rapid throughout the state."[106]

In the General Assembly of 1923 Brooks continued his fight for Negro schools, again concentrating upon teacher training facilities. Through his efforts the legislature provided a bond issue of $500,000 for the Negro normal schools and authorized the purchase of the National Training School in Durham

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104 Biennial Report, 1920-1922, p. 34.

105 Ibid.

106 Hollis Long, Public Secondary Education For Negroes in North Carolina (New York, 1932), p. 104.

which would be converted into a normal school for Negroes.[107] In 1920 Dr. James Shepard, president of the Durham institution, had discussed with Brooks the feasibility of a fourth Negro normal school under state control. At that time Brooks insisted that the state "should make the institutions already established real normal schools before attempting to establish another normal school."[108] By 1923 he apparently felt that the time was ripe for the state to undertake the support of another Negro teacher training institution. At any rate, the new State Normal School in Durham was the only state-supported normal school for Negroes in 1923 whose graduates could receive Class-A Elementary Certificates in accordance with the standards of the North Carolina College Conference.[109] Brooks, however, hoped to raise the Slater State Normal School in Winston-Salem to a four year institution "within the near future."[110]

Despite Brooks' energetic efforts, the development of Negro education was necessarily gradual. He was building Negro schools from the ground up, and his financial resources were

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[107] E. C. Brooks to Trevor Arnett, March 2, 1923, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[108] E. C. Brooks to James E. Shepard, December 6, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[109] Institutions of Higher Learning in North Carolina (Educational Publication No. 58), p. 17; Elizabeth Seay, "A History of the North Carolina College For Negroes," (M. A. Thesis, Duke University Library), pp. 62-7.

[110] E. C. Brooks to Trevor Arnett, March 2, 1923, S. P. I. Correspondence.

not large enough for a sudden and complete transformation of these schools. Nevertheless, there was remarkable progress in almost every phase of Negro education during his administration. The number of Negro teachers increased from 3,511 in 1918 to 4,871 in 1923, while the average monthly salaries rose from $28.97 to $63.94. The value of Negro school property was more than tripled in the same period, and the average daily attendance increased from 107,181, in 1918 to 161,463, in 1923.[111] Only at the end of Brooks' administration did the Negro high schools warrant a place in the report of the state high school inspector, although it was his sixteenth annual report. There were at that time only eight standard public high schools for Negroes with a total enrollment of 1,488 pupils. But the number of county training schools increased from ten in 1918 to twenty-five in 1923 largely through Brooks' success in gaining additional aid for them from the General Education Board. The Negro high schools shared rather generously in the federal and state funds for vocational education. In 1922 Director T. E. Browne reported that 1000 Negroes participated in part-time classes in agriculture and 190 Negro women were enrolled in home economics courses. Perhaps the most extra-

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[111] Between 1918 and 1923 the number of white teachers increased from 11,730 to 15,665, while their average monthly salaries rose from $46.52 to $107.14. In the same period the average daily attendance of white children increased from 299,998 to 393,991. Biennial Report, 1918-1920, pp. 80-1, 96-7; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, pp. 53, 74-5.

ordinary development in Negro education under Brooks was the improvement in the qualifications of Negro teachers. The number of Negro teachers with elementary certificates increased from 674 in 1920 to 1,876 in 1923. When Brooks left office in 1923, there were 1,550 Negro teachers enrolled in approved college summer schools and 2,609 in county summer schools.[112] Brooks sincerely believed that the "continued harmony and prosperity" of both races in North Carolina depended upon providing educational opportunities for Negroes. He laid a solid foundation for a progressive program of Negro education especially through more adequate financial support for Negro schools and better qualified Negro teachers. This forward movement, inaugurating the "golden period in Negro education" in North Carolina, gained momentum under his successor.

III

Shortly after assuming office in 1919, Brooks recognized the need for a rather drastic reorganization of the Department of Public Instruction.[113] He had first studied this problem two

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[112] Biennial Report, 1918-1920, pp. 80, 96-7, 110; Biennial Report, 1922-1924, pp. 53, 90-1, 96-7; Annual Report of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, 1922, pp. 189-90; Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports, 1923, pp. 14-5; W. C. Newbold to E. C. Brooks, November 9, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence; Public Education in North Carolina (Educational Publication No. 101), pp. 1-16.

[113] In 1919 the Department of Public Instruction included a conglomeration of officers with overlapping duties. In addi-

years earlier when a member of the State Educational Commission, a body that continued to exist through 1922. As State Superintendent, Brooks served the Commission in an advisory capacity and cooperated with the General Education Board in making a survey of school conditions in the state.[114] In August, 1919, he informed the Board of his plan to "eliminate a certain amount of lost motion and unify our work in the Department of Public Instruction."[115] The organization of the division of school house planning in 1920 was indicative of his ideas. Brooks wanted to group similar functions together in divisions and define the duties of each division. He apparently suggested

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tion to the State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors, the Department personnel consisted of eight persons including two stenographers and a janitor employed by the state, a director of vocational education paid by federal and state funds, and four persons paid by the General Education Board. The Department contained a Bureau of Community Service that provided films and instruction in citizenship and physical education to rural schools. Another division concerned with adult illiterates and "moonlight" schools was under the direction of Elizabeth Kelly, who became widely known for her efforts to eliminate adult illiteracy. The so-called "moonlight" schools for adults became a part of the public school system in 1919. See E. C. Brooks to the General Assembly, January 19, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence; Progressive Farmer XXXIV (October 18, 1919), p. 1684; Biennial Report of the Bureau of Community Service, 1918-1920; Biennial Report of the Director of Schools For Adult Illiterates, 1918-1920.

114 Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1918-1919, p. 28; W. H. Pittman to R. A. Nunn, June 16, 1920; E. C. Brooks to W. H. Pittman, November 27, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence.

115 E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, August 30, 1919, S. P. I. Correspondence.

this plan to the State Educational Commission which included it among its recommendations late in 1920.[116]

The legislature of the following year adopted the main features of the proposed reorganization. It authorized the creation of a division of teacher training and a division of certification to replace the six member Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors. In addition, it established a division of Negro education, a division of publication, and a division of physical education.[117] A total appropriation of $94,000 was provided for these five divisions. The legislature of 1921 also placed the state normal schools under the control of the State Board of Education of which Brooks was secretary. Under this act his department gained supervision of the three Negro normal schools and the two white normal schools--the Appalachian Training School and the Cullowhee State Normal and Industrial School.[118] Brooks as State Superintendent was already a trustee of the University of North Carolina, the North Carolina College for Women, and the East Carolina Teachers College.[119] He al-

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116 See Report of the State Educational Commission, pp. 109-111.

117 Although Brooks strongly encouraged physical training in public schools, he never established the division of physical education in his department. When the special session of the legislature in 1921 ordered him to reduce the expenditures of his department, he apparently decided to forego the creation of this division rather than endanger the teacher training and certification divisions by a reduction of their expenditures.

118 See New School Legislation, 1920 and 1921 (Educational Publication No. 12) pp. 15-7, 25-8.

119 North Carolina Manual, 1921 Edited by R. D. W. Connor (Raleigh, 1921), p. 63.

ways worked closely with the presidents of these institutions in carrying out his teacher training program. As a trustee of the various state colleges, Brooks apparently took an active part in their affairs, especially in all questions affecting public education. These institutions, of course, played a very essential role in his plans to raise the qualifications of public school teachers.[120]

In Brooks' opinion the departmentalization of his office promoted efficiency and "lent dignity" to the new positions, although in general it required only a rearrangement of the existing personnel.[121] Immediately after reorganizing his department, Brooks set out to find sufficient financial resources for providing advanced training for the directors of the new divisions. In April, 1921 he wrote Wallace Buttrick of the General Education Board: "We need better trained men and women to give supervision to the educational work of the state. We are moving at a rapid rate and we should secure as quickly as possible the best trained people to give guidance to the progress. I believe our own people who have the personality could be

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120 See E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, October 4, 1920; E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, November 6, 1922; E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, December 15, 1922; E. C. Brooks to Harry Chase, September 24, 1920; Harry Chase to E. C. Brooks, September 24, 1920, S. P. I. Correspondence; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1919-1923, University Papers.

121 E. C. Brooks, "The General Assembly and the New School Legislation," North Carolina Education XV (April, 1921), pp.5-6.

trained for this work and give permanency to our supervisory staff that could not be secured by importing men and women from outside the state."[122] The General Education Board granted his request for $15,000 which was used by eight persons employed by the Department of Public Instruction in securing advanced training at Columbia, Harvard, George Peabody, and Hampton Institute.[123] In his search for greater efficiency Brooks continued to perfect the organization of his department by re-arranging divisions and creating new one from the existing personnel. In 1922 his department employed forty-seven persons including secretaries and stenographers and was composed of nine divisions, namely, certification, teacher training, supervision, school extension, school house planning, Negro education, finances and statistics, vocational education, and publication.[124] The quarters of the department on the second floor of the State Department Building had become so inadequate that five members were located in rented

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[122] E. C. Brooks to Wallace Buttrick, April 16, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[123] Abraham Flexner to E. C. Brooks, July 1, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence. Those taking advanced study included H. T. Hunter at Harvard; George Howard, A. M. Proctor, N. C. Newbold, and Hattie Parrott at Columbia; J. J. Blair at George Peabody; and Hugh Brown at Hampton Institute. Brooks also intended to provide training for "three negro women in summer school work to do special primary work among negroes in the fall of 1922." E. C. Brooks to Abraham Flexner, February 10, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence. See also E. C. Brooks to N. C. Newbold, December 1, 1921; E. C. Brooks to J. J. Blair, May 1, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[124] Directory of School Officials of North Carolina, 1922 (Educational Publication No. 57), pp. 4-5.

space at State College. Brooks sought in vain to persuade the Building Commission to ask the legislature of 1921 for an appropriation sufficient to supply adequate quarters for his entire department at one location.[125] Two years later he made another futile attempt to induce the legislature to "erect and equip an adequate office building for the State Department of Education."[126]

Among the other proposals that Brooks and the State Educational Commission intended to present to the legislature of 1921 was a revisal and codification of the public school laws. The rapid change in these laws, especially during Brooks' administration, left many local school officials in utter confusion about their powers and duties. The State Educational Commission sought to clarify the legal basis of public education by bringing all school laws together into one body. Brooks "helped to map out the main lines of this proposed code," but was unable to study the details until it was published late in 1920.[127] He then recognized that numerous changes in the code were necessary if it were to be accepted by the legislature. The Teachers' Assembly strongly objected to

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[125] E. C. Brooks to J. A. Salter, November 3, 1920; S. P. I. Correspondence.

[126] News and Observer, December 23, 1922.

[127] E. C. Brooks to Gallatin Roberts, January 21, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

certain amendments to the school laws inserted in the code such as popular election of the county boards of education.[128] In certain quarters the code was described as the "Brooks Law" for centralizing control of public education in Raleigh.[129] Brooks believed that the lack of time to overcome the opposition of the school men was a major obstacle to the enactment of the code in 1921. After consulting the executive committee of the Teachers' Assembly, he wrote Dr. Frank Bachman of the General Education Board, the director of the state educational survey:

> It was then decided that it was best under the circumstances not to try to push the code through this General Assembly ... The great trouble in the way is the lack of understanding on the part of the school men ... Many of them are attacking us openly and accusing us of having some foreign agency [General Education Board] to come into the state and tell the General Assembly what to do ... The confusion in the minds of the school people since they have read the code is astonishing. They have already shot letters to the General Assembly to hold up the code. The members of the General Assembly are strongly advising me not to try to put the whole code through this year ...[130]

Brooks refused to recommend the enactment of the code in its existing form. He believed that it was "too heavily weighted

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[128] E. W. Knight, "The Commission's Report and the Teachers' Assembly," The High School Journal IV (January, 1921), pp. 3-6; North Carolina Education XV (January, 1921), p. 3.

[129] E. C. Brooks to Gallatin Roberts, January 21, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence; Asheville Citizen (Asheville, North Carolina), January 20, 1921.

[130] E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, January 24, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

in favor of city schools" and contained several rather serious technical flaws.[131] Moreover, the uneasy state of the General Assembly as a result of the agricultural depression was hardly favorable to any major innovations. Brooks, acutely aware of the economic situation, predicted quite correctly that the legislature would change the method of financing public schools and for this reason desired to postpone the enactment of the code for two years at which time the educational reorganization begun in 1919 would have become permanent.[132] In April, 1921, he declared that "it will be easy two years from now to shape up the entire law and prepare a code that will be a good working basis for years to come ..."[133]

Brooks personally undertook the re-writing of the code in order to eliminate those features that created the furor in 1921. He was assisted by the State Educational Commission which by this time had completed its major work.[134] In codifying the school laws Brooks worked closely with the commission created by the special session of the legislature in 1921 to recommend changes in the school taxation laws. After several months of rather intensive labor he published the code in pamphlet form in the summer of 1922 and discussed it at the

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[131] E. C. Brooks to T. R. Foust, January 17, 1921; T. R. Foust to E. C. Brooks, January 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[132] E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, February 4, 1921; E. C. Brooks to Frank Bachman, January 24, 1921; E. C. Brooks to N. W. Walker, January 15, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[133] E. C. Brooks to M. E. Haggerty, April 12, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

[134] News and Observer, November 29, 1922.

Teachers' Assembly in November.[135] When the legislature convened in 1923, the revised school code was apparently endorsed by a majority of the school men of the state.

In the codified school laws, introduced in the legislature on January 23, 1923, Brooks had inserted several new measures and deleted those sections of the old laws that had become obsolete. The News and Observer predicted that "trouble is brewing" for the Brooks school code.[136] H. C. Connor, Jr., chairman of the House education committee, also anticipated serious opposition to its enactment. He urged Brooks to explain "certain matters" to the committees on education "to the end that the mental attitude of some of the members may be changed." He especially wanted Brooks to refute the legislators' notions that his department "fixed" the salaries of all teachers; that his certification program was unjust to older teachers "long in service" but without college training; that the method of handling the salaries of county superintendents was extravagant; and that nearly all power over public schools was centralized in the State Superintendent's office.[137]

The opening of the committee hearings on January 31, 1923, found the gallaries and lobbies of the House "filled to capacity." As soon as Brooks appeared, several legislators

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[135] News and Observer, January 24, 1923.

[136] News and Observer, January 29, 1923.

[137] H. C. Connor, Jr. to E. C. Brooks, January 12, 1923, S. P. I. Correspondence.

initiated an inquisitorial session in which they charged Brooks with "an unwarranted usurpation of power in control of the public school system."[138] In describing Brooks' defense of his administration the News and Observer reported: "For two hours and a half he defended himself in brilliant oratory, parried with his critics giving thrust for thrust, gave a comprehensive outline of his proposed school code, and concluded with a half hour rapid answers to questions shot at him."[139] At one point Brooks turned to his opponents and angrily declared: "If this is autocracy, then make the most of it."[140] Apparently, some of the legislators gained their first comprehensive idea of the school laws upon reading the code. Some of them undoubtedly realized for the first time the amount of power that the state had over the public schools. When Brooks finished his initial outline of the proposed code, Representative Lindsay Warren of Beaufort County explained: "This proposed law is centralization run riot."[141] Nevertheless, Brooks "had won the committees" to his support, even including Senator W. H. S. Burgwyn, his implacable foe in 1921.[142]

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138 News and Observer, February 1, 1923.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 News and Observer, February 7, 1923.

142 Ibid. In the midst of the hearings H. G. Connor, Jr. left the education committee to fill the position on the finance committee vacated by R. A. Doughton who succeeded A. D. Watts as

After conferring with the education committees for almost three weeks, Brooks compromised on sections of the code opposed by the legislators who feared too much centralization of power in the Department of Public Instruction. The revised provisions, concerning the teacher salary schedule which many legislators believed to be "fixed and inflexibly binding upon county boards of education," allowed counties and cities to establish their own salary schedules. Actually, this revisal was little different from previous provisions, because the state equalizing fund was still distributed partially on the basis of the state salary schedule.[143] The last "cry of centralization" was quieted when the section requiring all school officials "to obey the instructions of the State Superintendent and accept his construction of the law" was deleted from the code.[144] Three other provisions written into the code by Brooks and changed by the education committees concerned the powers of the county in contracting school debts, issuing bonds, and initiating legal proceedings to secure taxes sufficient to run the schools for six months.[145]

State Commissioner of Revenue. N. A. Townsend became chairman of the House education committee, and Brooks declared at the close of the hearings that "Mr. Townsend has been more valuable to me than any man with whom I have ever worked." See News and Observer, February 2, 22, 1923.

[143] News and Observer, January 24, February 7, 1923; Public School Law: Codification of 1923, pp. 19, 123-24.

[144] News and Observer, February 25, 1923.

[145] See above pp. 321-22.

The close cooperation between Brooks and the committees on education in altering parts of the code headed off the "bitter fight that seemed inevitable on the floor of the legislature.[146] The code was enacted into law without serious opposition and became effective on April 15, 1923. This compilation of the entire body of school law into a single instrument clearly recognized a "state system of schools based on the county as the unit of organization."[147] After more than three decades the so-called Brooks school code with its numerous amendments and revisals still remained the basic school law of North Carolina.[148]

IV

The four and a half years that Brooks was State Superintendent marked an era of astonishing growth and expansion in the public schools of North Carolina. He entered office under conditions favorable to educational progress. His energetic predecessor, J. Y. Joyner, had carefully prepared the foundation for a reputable school system during his administration of seventeen years. In some instances Brooks continued the

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[146] News and Observer, February 22, 1923. For Brooks' statement on the school code see Charlotte Observer, March 4, 1923.

[147] News and Observer, February 7, 1923.

[148] See Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks," (An Address), pp. 6-7.

policies inaugurated under Joyner; in others he pursued an entirely independent course. The difference in the lengths of their terms and in the circumstances under which they labored point up the folly of attempting a comparison of their achievements. Moreover, Brooks and Joyner were so closely allied both in views and action in the field of public education between 1902 and 1919 that a sharp distinction in their educational policies would be misleading, if not inaccurate. To be sure, some of the educational movements begun under Joyner came to fruition during Brooks' administration. Yet Brooks himself had been a part of these movements for many years through his intimate association with Joyner and through his magazine, North Carolina Education. At any rate, it would be difficult indeed to find a single phase of public education between 1919 and 1923 upon which Brooks did not exert a strong influence.

Perhaps, the most pressing task confronting Brooks in 1919 was the securing of sufficient financial support for public education. He recognized that the state must bear a large share of the financial burden in order to provide adequate educational opportunities for all children. His success in persuading the legislatures to undertake greater financial responsibility for the schools was in itself a tribute to his political acumen and skillful leadership. To insure the wise expenditure of the greatly increased school funds Brooks established and enforced a system of budgets and audits and raised

the standards of county superintendents. These innovations almost completely reformed the local administration of public schools and actually put into operation a state system of schools with the counties rather than the numerous districts as the units of school administration. This idea was embodied in most of the changes in the school system advocated by Brooks. It was clearly manifested in his progressive schemes for school consolidation, high schools, and pupil transportation.

Brooks himself considered the improvement in the teaching personnel as the major achievement of his administration. Certainly, his introduction of an effective program of teacher training and certification coupled with a uniform salary schedule was largely responsible for the revolution in the character of the teaching force that occurred between 1919 and 1923. In Brooks' opinion the school building program was the second most important achievement of his career as State Superintendent. The building of school houses was greatly stimulated by the state loan fund of $10,000,000 created largely through Brooks' influence. His establishment of a division of school house planning not only insured the most advantageous location of schools but the construction of buildings in accordance with current architectural and educational principles. Brooks might possibly have designated the advance in Negro education as the third major accomplishment of his administration, although the educational advantages for Negroes remained strikingly inferior to those for white children. Nevertheless,

he laid the foundation for a reputable system of Negro education which gradually materialized under his successors.

Under Brooks the Department of Public Instruction became a powerful force in the educational life of the state. His reorganization of the department in 1921 greatly enhanced its efficiency in dealing with the ever expanding range of educational activities that came under its supervision. Through the distribution of state funds Brooks possessed a powerful instrument of control over local schools--an instrument that he never hesitated to use in forcing schools in line with legal requirements. The charges of "too much centralization of power in Raleigh" were frequently hurled at his administration. But Brooks was undeterred by such accusations in his efforts to build a strong school system. In 1921 he informed the county superintendents that "where the state law says that you shall do certain things, there the State Superintendent steps in, and insofar as he is able, will see that the law is observed."[149] His strict adherence to this policy undoubtedly left the State Superintendency a much stronger office than it had been in 1919.

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[149] News and Observer, November 23, 1921.

Chapter IX

COUNTY GOVERNMENT REFORMER

At the same time that Brooks, as editor of North Carolina Education and as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was campaigning for greater efficiency in the county administration of schools, he was urging with equal vigor certain reforms in county government that were not chiefly concerned with public education. As early as 1910, for example, he proposed county "systems of bookkeeping" and "fixed salaries" for county officials entirely independent of the collection of fees.[1] The suggestions of such drastic reforms were apparently disregarded with cool indifference by officials who, suspicious of any change, manifested a general satisfaction with the exist-

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[1] North Carolina Education V (November, 1910), p. 11.

ing methods of conducting county affairs. Brooks, therefore, concentrated his attention upon the educational departments of county government.

As State Superintendent of Public Instruction he was largely responsible for a veritable revolution in the character of county school administration. He eradicated much of the lethargy among county school officials by strongly enforcing a system of budgets and audits as well as by raising the standards of county superintendents.[2] In transforming the county school administration he recognized anew the pressing need for a general reform of county government particularly in its conduct of financial affairs. His probes into the handling of county school funds turned up evidence of an extraordinary disorder and negligence in the management of county finances in general. Brooks contended that the proper administration of the reorganized school system demanded efficiency in all departments of county government.[3] Thus, his agitation for the general reform of county government was at first closely tied to the state educational program and was frequently included in his campaign for the improvement of county school admini-

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[2] See above pp. 312-22.

[3] Charles M. Johnson, "County Government Reform in North Carolina," (An Address Presented to the National Association of State Auditors, Treasurers, and Comptrollers, August 9, 1927), GP-516, Governors' Papers (McLean); Stewart Robertson, "County Government Legislation Begins Operation in the State," News and Observer, May 22, 1927.

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Through his authority under the County Budget Act of 1919 Brooks collected much data concerning county government and finances. The investigation that he initiated in 1920 under A. S. Brower uncovered further evidence of appalling mismanagement by county officials. Brower reported that "the outstanding fact discovered by this investigation is the lack of an adequate system of records in the county."[4] At the same time Professor E. C. Branson, founder of the department of rural social-economics in the University of North Carolina, pleaded for county government reform on the basis of a vast quantity of information that he had collected since 1914. For years Branson and his students had called attention to the "antiquated and wasteful practices" of county government particularly through research studies published in the University News Letter and the North Carolina Club Year Books.[5] The activities in behalf of county government reform were greatly augmented by Branson's establishment of the Institute For Research in Social Science at the University in 1924. Within three years investigators under his direction had completed "intensive courthouse studies" of forty-three of the 100 counties in North Caro-

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[4] Brower, "Confidential Reports to the State Superintendent on Burke, Mitchell and Caswell Counties," S. P. I. Correspondence.

[5] Wager, County Government in North Carolina, p. vii. See also The North Carolina Club Year Book, 1917-1918 which was devoted to county government.

lina.[6] Brooks and Branson, who were personal friends, became closely allied in the agitation for county government reform. Brooks not only had considerable influence in the higher political echelon, but was a highly respected and popular figure in the state. Moreover, his eloquence enabled him to present his themes with simplicity and clarity. In fact, President Chase of the University believed that Brooks "held a large audience almost better than any man in the state."[7] Brooks in effect became the vocal leader of the movement for county government reform, while Branson provided invaluable advice and information.

In 1921 Brooks began in earnest his public speaking campaign in behalf of county government reform. He delivered addresses to numerous organizations and groups with a view toward gaining support for the reform movement. Brooks sincerely believed that the "first step" in improving county administration was "to arouse the public conscience through a publicity that will cause the people to demand better government."[8] His confidence in the people to implement reforms whenever defects

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[6] Hobbs, North Carolina: Economic and Social, pp. ix-x; Reed Kitchin, "Story of the North Carolina Club," North Carolina Club Year Book, 1924-1925, pp. 23-8.

[7] Harry Chase to David Hill, September 7, 1921, University Papers.

[8] E. C. Brooks, "County Government and Public Education," North Carolina Education, XVI (October, 1921), pp. 3-4.

were sufficiently exposed was reminiscent of the views held by muckrakers of the Progressive Era. His expressions were always those of an optimist who refused to believe that "the world is degenerating." Neither the inefficiency of county government in North Carolina nor the Teapot Dome scandals on the national level could shatter his optimism in the future and his faith in the people to right these wrongs.[9] In 1925 he declared: "... the best shall prevail, and therein lies hope, and I remain an optimist."[10] Such views underlay most of his public utterances on county government regardless of the prevalence and seriousness of the defects that he exposed.

In an address to the first Regional Conference on Town and County Administration at Chapel Hill in September, 1921, Brooks outlined six major shortcomings in the existing conduct of county affairs. First, he pointed out that county officials, being ignorant of the cost of government and the bonded indebtedness of the several departments, did not know "what tax rates to levy to meet the full legitimate expenses of the county." Second, the large number of delinquent taxpayers forced an increase in tax rates. Third, the fines, penalties, and forfeitures of counties were "not always properly accounted for and applied in accordance with law." Fourth, the failure

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9 News and Observer, March 13, 1924.

10 E. C. Brooks, "The Need of Cooperation Between Ministers and Teachers," (An Address, June, 1925), Brooks Papers (SHC).

to segregate funds according to legal requirements resulted in excessive funds for certain departments of county government, while others had to borrow money for current expenses. Fifth, the special local taxes in many counties were improperly "levied, collected and disbursed." In addition to grossly inadequate records, Brooks found "positive evidence" that in some areas the larger taxpayers escaped the local taxes altogether. For example, in one tax district the Postal Telegraph Company, the Pullman Car Company, the Southern Bell Telephone Company, the American Telephone Company, and the Western Union Telegraph Company which were all entitled to pay taxes neither paid "a cent of taxes" nor were even listed on the tax books. Finally, Brooks declared that most counties lacked a sufficient "unity of management to fix responsibility and insure efficiency."[11]

He then suggested remedial measures for these defects in county administration. His proposals included a vigorous campaign to arouse public opinion; strong state supervision to insure the proper management of county affairs; and a program of instruction in local self-government in public schools and colleges. Brooks especially emphasized the need for state supervision over county finances through a uniform system of

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[11] E. C. Brooks, "County Government and Public Education," Attainable Standards In Municipal Programs: A Partial Report of the First Regional Conference on Town and County Administration Prepared by Howard Odum. (University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin, Chapel Hill, 1921), pp. 116-17.

audits under the direction of the State Auditor. He also insisted that whenever county officials demonstrated incompetence and failed to meet "a given standard of efficiency" they should be removed immediately and replaced by temporary appointees until the people could elect their successors.[12]

Brooks reiterated similar themes in speeches in almost every part of the state.[13] He never hesitated to relate specific, through anonymous, examples of inefficient county administration. He pointed out that a bonding house called upon officials of one county for interest long overdue on its bonds only to find that they were wholly ignorant of the existence of such bonds.[14] In another county the sheriff overpaid his account by more than $1000 and was entirely unaware of his mistake.[15] The press of the state in general heartily endorsed Brooks' activities in behalf of better county government and gave full coverage to his speeches.[16] The News and Observer declared that he was "making way for the fight that is to come for a closer scrutiny and a more accurate check by the people of the

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[12] Ibid., pp. 118-19.

[13] See report of Brooks' address to the State Farmers' Convention, News and Observer, August 31, 1921.

[14] News and Observer, September 2, 1921.

[15] News and Observer, September 20, 1921.

[16] E. C. Brooks, "County Government Reform," The Bond Buyer LXXV (November 12, 1927), p. 4.

State upon their public officials holding county offices."[17]

In 1922 Brooks continued his speaking campaign regarding county government reform. He addressed almost every teachers' summer school in the state in an effort to awaken the teachers to the need for immediate action.[18] In his speech at the University on June 30, 1922, he stressed the importance of establishing "workable standards" for county officials which would be enforced by the state. He used as an example the operation of his own department: "When a county fails to observe the certification law, the State Department of Education checks its teachers' salaries and corrects its errors. When they fail to obey the law governing attendance in school, the State Department checks their budgets. As a result of this power to compel counties to obey the law, the State Department last year reduced the amount of their budgets over $500,000. The State Department may make certain suggestions or authorize certain standards, but county officials are not compelled to follow them unless they wish to draw state money--and state money is paid out in accordance with law."[19] Brooks wanted the General Assembly, "the highest power in our government," to establish certain standards for all county administration that

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17 News and Observer, August 31, 1921.

18 News and Observer, July 2, 4, 1922; E. C. Brooks, "Education and County Government," Brooks Papers (BLS).

19 E. C. Brooks, "County Government and the Public School System," June 30, 1922, Brooks Papers (BLS).

could be enforced.

The State Association of County Commissioners invited Brooks to address its annual meeting on August 16, 1922. His speech on "County Government and State Progress" demonstrated that his ideas on county government reform had undergone considerable refinement and expansion. His suggested remedies had become more specific. Brooks told this influential group that ten to fifteen per cent of the taxes in "many" counties remained uncollected each year and that county officials were "living on bond issues to pay current expenses rather than levy the constitutional limit in taxes." He pointed up the confusion about legislative and executive functions of certain county departments, especially the board of commissioners. The commissioners possessed both functions, but since they met only twelve days in each year, they could hardly be expected to perform their executive functions. Therefore, Brooks suggested a "continuous executive" comparable to a county manager. He also proposed a "system of traveling auditors under the jurisdiction of the State Auditor," who would conduct institutes for county officials ignorant of their duties. Brooks believed that the power of example would be a potent force in reforming county administration; thus, he held up Pitt County to the Association of County Commissioners as an example of a county with a highly efficient government. The Pitt County officials had accomplished their exemplary administration with the advice and assistance of Brooks who desired to make Pitt a

"workable standard" for other counties.[20]

Brooks undoubtedly discussed his views with Governor Morrison whom he advised on a wide variety of questions. At any rate, on March 24, 1922, the Governor appointed a commission consisting of Josephus Daniels, O. Max Gardner, E. C. Branson, and several others to study and recommend changes in the county government laws. Morrison declared that the existing county government was "a patchwork affair wholly dependent for efficiency upon the character of county officials."[21] His commission apparently did not have any appreciable influence upon the General Assembly of 1923, for the question of county government reform was almost wholly disregarded by the legislators. The Progressive Farmer strongly rebuked the legislature for its failure to attend to county government in view of the "startling revelations" produced "by Dr. Brooks and Dr. Branson."[22]

II

Brooks continued his agitation for reform in county administration after becoming president of North Carolina State

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[20] E. C. Brooks, "County Government and State Progress, August 16, 1922," Brooks Papers (BLS).

[21] Statement by Governor Cameron Morrison, March 24, 1922; A. D. Watts to Cameron Morrison, March 27, 1922, Governors' Papers (Morrison).

[22] Progressive Farmer XXXVIII (March 17, 1923), p. 294.

College in June, 1923.[23] The following year Angus W. McLean was elected governor and pledged himself to the improvement of the administrative structure of state government, especially through the centralization of fiscal control.[24] McLean was also keenly interested in a general overhauling of county government and in 1922 had served on Governor Morrison's county government commission.[25] The new Governor then held views closely akin to those of Brooks, and an intimate friendship developed between the two men. In fact, Brooks was often considered Governor McLean's "right hand man."[26] At any rate, Brooks possessed a powerful ally in the movement for county government reform which by 1925 had attracted wide attention in the state.

In the legislature of 1925 the question of county government was largely eclipsed by several measures on state administrative reorganization strongly backed by Governor McLean. One of these was the Executive Budget Act that invested the governor

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23 E. C. Brooks, "Five Great Enterprises That The State Should Support with Emphasis," Brooks Papers (BLS); News and Observer, March 13, 1924, January 9, 1925.

24 Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925-1929 Edited by David L. Corbitt (Raleigh, 1931), pp. 4, 6-8.

25 Paul Wager, "Business Efficiency In County Government," North Carolina Club Year Book, 1924-1925, pp. 34-5.

26 Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956. See also E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, September 26, 1928; E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, January 22, 1932, Angus W. McLean Papers (Photostatic Copies), Duke University Library.

with control of the financial proposals and operations of state government.[27] Brooks, however, sought to focus the legislators' attention upon the needed reforms in county government by publishing a long, detailed article on the subject in the News and Observer on January 18, 1925. He insisted that the existing defects in county administration were not to be attributed to the state constitution, but rather to "the attitude of our political leaders who have not considered that from the standpoint of public welfare, the supervision of local government and the protection of the people from ignorant and otherwise incompetent officials should take equal rank with the supervision of roads, schools, health, etc."[28] His article described at length the government of Pitt County which he still considered the "best governed county in the state." According to Brooks, most counties were organized around a system of fees for officials who rendered "individual services" such as the issuance of marriage licenses, recording of deeds, and surveys of land. He believed that many defects of county government resulted from the failure of its organization to keep abreast with its increasing number of functions for "the general welfare." The counties were attempting to conduct programs in education, highways, and health with the same methods and basic governmental machinery employed during Reconstruction.

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[27] Report on A Survey of the Organization and Administration of State Government in North Carolina Prepared by the Brookings Institution. (Washington, 1930), pp. 21, 26-32.

[28] News and Observer, January 18, 1925.

But Brooks insisted that constitutional amendments were unnecessary; he still maintained that the establishment of exemplary government in a few counties coupled with adequate state supervision would lead to reforms in others.[29] The main purpose of his well-timed article was to persuade the legislature of the need for immediate reforms in the management of county finances.

Brooks was convinced that any delay in correcting the defects in county administration of public funds would be costly. On January 23, 1925, he wrote Branson:

> I think that this Legislature should act. I do not believe that a committee appointed to investigate for the next two years will be of much help. What we need to do now is to start a plan whereby counties can go forward under that gentle pressure which the State alone can give. I have enough information in my office to make the most optimistic man morbidly pessimestic ... We need now to study the good points of government and what can be put into practice.[30]

Branson was inclined to favor a legislative commission to study county government and recommend changes to the General Assembly of 1927. He urged Governor McLean to appoint Brooks and A.C. McIntosh, professor of law in the University of North Carolina, as members of the commission, if it were created.[31] Branson believed that "best of all the public men of the state" Brooks

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29 Ibid.

30 E. C. Brooks to E. C. Branson, January 23, 1925, Brooks Papers (DAH).

31 E. C. Branson to Angus W. McLean, January 19, 1925, Brooks Papers (DAH).

knew "the facts," while McIntosh was an expert on "the state and public-local laws on county government."[32]

The legislature of 1925 "seriously considered" the question of county government reform, although its chief concern was a reorganization of the state fiscal administration.[33] Senator W. L. Foushee of Durham drafted a bill providing for a commission on county and state government with an appropriation of $25,000 mainly for employing experts. The commission was to recommend to the General Assembly of 1927 a plan for reorganizing various county and state departments, commissions, and boards that would promote economy and eliminate duplication.[34] For some reason this bill was never introduced in the legislature, although Branson strongly endorsed it.[35] However, Senator A. F. Sams of Winston-Salem introduced a bill on county government which was undoubtedly favored by Brooks more than the Foushee proposal and might well have been written by him. This measure called for the creation of a Department of County Government within some existing state department, which would be composed of a County Government Commission of seven members and a County Examiner who was to be a kind of field agent. The

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[32] E. C. Branson to E. C. Brooks, January 19, 1925, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[33] Brooks, "County Government Reform in North Carolina," Bond Buyer LXXV (November 12, 1927), p. 2.

[34] News and Observer, January 19, 1925.

[35] E. C. Branson to Angus W. McLean, January 19, 1925, Brooks Papers (DAH).

purpose of the commission was to provide advice and "minimum standards of good county government" for county commissioners and to recommend reforms to the legislature of 1927. The bill also authorized all counties to employ auditors and tax supervisors and invoked penalties upon officials who failed to deposit taxes in the county treasury "within one week" after their collection. Moreover, the county commissioners could remove any incompetent or negligent official with the approval of the County Examiner.[36] The Sams bill was killed by the Senate committee on counties, cities, and towns undoubtedly to the great disappointment of Brooks.[37] The legislature of 1925, therefore, adjourned without providing any reform in county government.

Brooks did not give up the fight with this setback. He at once began working with Governor McLean in an effort to insure the enactment of county government legislation by the General Assembly of 1927. They decided to launch their drive at the annual meeting of the State Association of County Commissioners at Blowing Rock on August 13, 1925.[38] In an address to this group McLean expressed a desire to place county government upon a sound financial basis. He suggested that a commission

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[36] A Bill Entitled An Act to Improve County Government, S. B. 772, Session, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[37] Senate Journal, 1925, p. 445.

[38] E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, June 17, 1925, GP-462, Governors' Papers (McLean).

to study the conditions and recommend the needed reforms might be valuable.[39] The Association of County Commissioners, already disturbed by the existing agitation about county fiscal administration, requested the Governor to appoint such a commission.[40] McLean readily granted the request and on September 14, 1925 he appointed Brooks to the commission along with eleven other prominent persons including Professor McIntosh and Frank P. Spruill, president of the Association of County Commissioners.[41] Two months later, Mrs. Nathan O'Berry and Mrs. E. L. McKee, influential representatives of women's organizations, were added to the membership of the commission.[42] At the first meeting of the group Brooks was elected chairman and McIntosh secretary. The commission was divided into five subcommittees on county business methods, managerial forms of government, county reports to state departments, county organization and standards, and county government laws.[43] Since

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[39] Greensboro Daily News, August 15, 1925; News and Observer, August 13, 1925.

[40] A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, September 14, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL); E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, September 17, 1925, GP-469, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[41] Resolutions Passed by the State Association of County Commissioners, August 13, 1925, GP-467, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[42] Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, pp. 114, 892-3.

[43] Ibid., p. 114; "Committees of the County Government Commission, 1926," Brooks Papers (DAH).

the commission was not authorized by the legislature, there was no appropriation to finance its activities.[44]

Brooks was mainly responsible for organizing and initiating the work of the commission. He himself served on the committees on county business methods and county organization and standards. Each committee was "given wide latitude" in pursuing its investigations.[45] Brooks obviously had no intention of permitting the commission to present a superficial report, and each committee was expected to undertake a thorough study of the existing conditions of a particular phase of county government--a study that would result in concrete suggestions for remedial legislation. Professor Branson assured Brooks that the Institute for Research in Social Science was at his command. Brooks readily accepted this offer and notified the members of the commission that surveys of six counties were already available at the Institute. Moreover, the Institute would study any county suggested by the members and approved by the board of commissioners of that county.[46] Indeed, Branson, and his students provided invaluable assistance to the County

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[44] A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, September 14, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[45] E. C. Brooks to A. C. McIntosh, October 21, 1925; E. C. Brooks to A. C. McIntosh, October 27, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Members of the County Government Commission, October 29, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[46] E. C. Branson to E. C. Brooks, September 16, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Members of the County Government Commission, October 29, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Government Commission by furnishing data for its recommendations.

Brooks soon realized that the commission must use care and discretion in publicizing its findings. The alienation of county officials would impede the progress of its initial work. On one occasion Brooks wrote Professor McIntosh: "After reading the report on Edgecombe County I can see very well why it would not be advisable to distribute among the members [of the County Government Commission] generally the criticism of certain of the officials."[47] But he believed that the defects of county government should continue to receive full publicity in order to keep the question before the people. In April, 1926 he suggested that county government reform become a plank in the platform of the state Democratic Party.[48] Brooks sought not only to keep in the good graces of county officials but to win support for the work of the commission among influential state organizations. For example, he invited the president of the Association of Superior Court Clerks to attend one of the four plenary sessions of the commission in order to enlist the support and assistance of that body.[49] Such groups as the

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[47] E. C. Brooks to A. C. McIntosh, November 25, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[48] E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, April 21, 1926; John G. Lawson to E. C. Brooks, April 24, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[49] E. C. Byerly to E. C. Brooks, October 29, 1925; E. C. Byerly to E. C. Brooks, December 7, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

North Carolina Press Association and the Retail Merchants Association had already endorsed the movement for county government reform.[50]

After seven months of study the County Government Commission convened in Chapel Hill on April 15, 1926, to formulate its report. Each sub-committee recommended changes in specific areas of county administration.[51] After a thorough discussion, the commission incorporated these recommendations along with a general statement on county government into its report which asserted:

> The Commission finds that where the greatest reform is needed is in fiscal management. Progress in this respect has not kept pace with the improvement in the machinery for rendering service either to the individual or to society as a whole; and further improvement in the machinery for serving the public awaits the improvement so badly needed in fiscal management. Therefore, the report of the commission deals in the main with defects in fiscal management and suggestions for its improvement.[52]

The commission's study of the fiscal management in twenty-five counties showed "that whenever defects appear in a number of counties, they appear in the same place in each of the counties."[53]

Brooks presented the complete report of the commission at

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[50] A. W. McLean to Frank P. Spruill, August 31, 1925, GP-467, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[51] News and Observer, April 16, 1926.

[52] "Report of the Commission on County Government," Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, p. 115.

[53] Ibid.

the meeting of the Association of County Commissioners at Morehead City in August, 1926. The recommendations were grouped under seven headings: (1) maintaining unity in the official family of a county in fiscal management; (2) preserving the taxables of a county; (3) collecting the revenue fairly and justly; (4) safeguarding the revenue through proper accounting; (5) safeguarding the expenditures through budget control and a central purchasing agent; (6) protecting the physical property of the county; (7) providing properly for the administration of justice.[54] The commission strongly recommended centralizing fiscal control in the board of county commissioners which would appoint "all administrative officers" concerned with financial matters. Such officers included a business manager with general supervision of all county finances and a supervisor of taxables whose main function was the keeping of adequate tax records and the inspection of taxable property. A collector of revenue, also appointed by the commissioners, would be required to deposit all funds "as he collects them." Only in small counties would the sheriff remain tax collector and even then he would be "held to a strict accountability by the commissioners." In order to safeguard the expenditure of funds each county was to create an adequate system of budgets

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[54] The County Government Commission did not make recommendations on the administration of justice, but referred the question to the North Carolina Bar Association. "Report of the Commission on County Government," Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, pp. 115-6, 123.

and a central purchasing department under one official. "No agency of the county should borrow money except the board of county commissioners." Moreover, every department of county government was to maintain a "continuous audit" under the direction of the county auditor. The credit of the county was to be protected "by providing for prompt payment of all interest, principal of notes or bonds, and by meeting promptly every obligation of the county." The commission also suggested that some county officer be appointed custodian of all physical property owned by the county to inspect and report on its depreciation and needs of repair. All officials appointed by the board of commissioners including the business manager, supervisor of taxables, collector of revenue, auditor, and purchasing agent were to be paid "fixed" salaries. In some instances, the duties of two of these offices such as those of the auditor and supervisor of taxables might be performed by one person, but any county with an annual expenditure of $1,000,000 or more should employ separate officials for each office. In order to insure continuity of business management, the board of commissioners should be elected for a term "longer than two years, but not all the members [ought] to retire within any given year." Finally, the commission recommended that the legislature "should by a general act make it possible for any county to adopt and maintain an improved form of local government." It should create a state department of finance and accounting to "aid counties in readjusting themselves to any

improved plan," and provide "for the preparation of a code on county government law."[55]

The Association of County Commissioners strongly endorsed the report of the County Government Commission which Brooks submitted to the Governor in September, 1926.[56] Frank P. Spruill, president of the Association, wrote Brooks:

I think you are due a large share of the credit for having a report of this kind approved by the State Association of County Commissioners and to my mind it is a masterpiece. I am glad the Association stamped its approval on this report, as it will go a long way towards getting the proposition before the General Assembly.[57]

Following an address by Brooks, the North Carolina Bar Association also endorsed the report and appointed a committee, headed by Attorney Willis Smith, to cooperate with the County Government Commission.[58] However, the commission's recommendations by no means escaped criticism. For obvious reasons the sheriffs objected to the proposals for a separate tax collector in counties with a certain annual expenditure.[59] Other county officials believed that a central purchasing agent

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[55] Ibid., pp. 116-26.

[56] E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, September 20, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[57] Frank Spruill to E. C. Brooks, August 18, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[58] E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, September 20, 1926; E. C. Brooks, "County Government Reform," Brooks Papers (DAH).

[59] E. C. Brooks to E. C. Bridges, August 16, 1926; Frank Spruill to E. C. Brooks, August 18, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

would be an unnecessary expense and that each county department should continue to buy its own supplies. Brooks explained that each department might still purchase its supplies, "but that all requisitions should pass through one central office in order that the county might know what is being paid for these supplies."[60] There was also some opposition to the commission's report on the grounds that it concentrated too much power in the board of commissioners. These various criticisms probably accounted for the Governor's desire to soft pedal the report during the political campaigns in the fall of 1926 in order to avoid any "unfortunate" discussions.[61]

Brooks worked closely with Governor McLean in preparing legislative bills to implement the recommendations of the commission. In fact, Brooks and McIntosh wrote the county government bills that the Governor submitted to the General Assembly on February 15, 1927 accompanied by a special message.[62] Shortly after the legislature convened, D. W. Newsom of Durham, a member of the County Government Commission, wrote Brooks:

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[60] E. C. Brooks to Leonard Tufts, August 10, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[61] E. C. Brooks to N. C. Branson, October 23, 1926, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[62] Edwin Bridges to E. C. Brooks, January 11, 1927; E. C. Brooks to E. M. Lyda, February 14, 1927; E. C. Brooks to Sam T. White, February 23, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL). See also Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, pp. 111-4; News and Observer, February 16, 1927.

You have done a single piece of statesmanlike work. You had a big job, and you have taken to it your usual vision, insight, patience and unflagging zeal. I know of no field of labor and thought that needed the heart and mind of an unselfish champion more than the reorganization of county administrative affairs. You saw the need and you have brought to it a high order of leadership. No man now can see how far reaching will be your faithful and painstaking endeavors. The state and the individual counties owe you a debt of everlasting gratitude.[63]

Brooks himself believed that "the idea" of local government reform had achieved wide popular support through the work of the commission.[64] Nevertheless, the legislators opposed several important sections of the bills, especially those transferring the collection of taxes from the sheriff to a new officer called the collector of revenue.[65] Another point of disagreement was whether counties already operating under a budget system would be affected by the budget provisions of the county government bills. The opposition led by Senators Frank Orier, J. M. Sharpe, and W. E. Smith collapsed when a clause exempting such counties from the budget provisions was inserted in the bills.[66] The five county government bills, enacted by an overwhelming majority, largely embodied the more

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[63] D. W. Newsom to E. C. Brooks, January 9, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[64] E. C. Brooks to Edwin Lyda, February 14, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[65] E. C. Brooks to Sam T. White, February 23, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[66] News and Observer, February 26, 1927.

basic reforms suggested by the commission.[67]

The County Fiscal Control Act directed the commissioners of each county "to appoint some person of honesty and ability, who is experienced in modern methods of accounting, as county accountant." The act also established a budget system for counties; concentrated the fiscal administration in the hands of the county commissioners; and provided for a strict separation of the various county funds. The budget had to be filed for public inspection at least twenty days before the passage of the appropriation resolution by the commissioners. The purpose of the measure was to create "a uniform system for all counties ... by which the fiscal affairs ... may be regulated to the end that accumulated deficits may be made up and future deficits prevented ... and to the end that every county ... may balance its budget and carry out its functions without incurring deficits."

The second major enactment of 1927 was the County Finance Act concerning the issuance of bonds and notes and the property taxation necessary for their payment. It described specifically the purposes for which bonds could be issued and taxes levied, and fixed rigid limitations on debts incurred by counties. Moreover, loans contracted to fulfill appropriations for the current year in anticipation of the collection of taxes could not exceed eighty per cent of the uncollected revenue except

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67 House Journal, 1927, pp. 686, 753; Senate Journal, 1927, pp. 431, 640.

in special cases. The commissioners were required to allow a certain period of time to elapse between the introduction of a motion to issue bonds and the actual order for their issuance. After publication of the bond order, a referendum could be called upon the petition of fifteen per cent of the voters in the preceding gubernatorial election. This procedure applied to the issuance of all bonds even those for "necessary expenses." The County Finance Act, then, prescribed in detail the election regulations on bond issues in order to eliminate the prevalent practices that resulted in minority action and extravagance. It also required that bond funds "be used only for the purpose" for which the bond was issued and provided severe penalties for county officials violating this regulation. Those commissioners who failed to levy the necessary taxes for the prompt payment of interest and principal of bonds were subject to stiff fines and possible imprisonment.

A third major act in 1927 authorized two plans of county government, the commissioner and the manager plans. The provisions for a county manager, however, did not invest that official with the broad powers usually associated with city managers. This act also described the structural organization, the powers and duties of county officials, and the relationships of officials to one another under both plans of county government.[67]

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[67] County Government Law Applicable to North Carolina Coun-

The General Assembly of 1927 rewrote the existing law on tax collection which had been largely ignored by county officials. The new act specified time limitations for these officials to collect, deposit, and settle for all county taxes. Their failure to comply with these regulations was punishable by fines and imprisonment. The legislature also amended certain statutes, dealing with tax deeds and foreclosure of certificates of sale, which "had fallen into disuse." The amendments provided for the sale of the personal property of the taxpayer for payment of his taxes before resorting to his real estate. They also sought to enforce foreclosure proceedings for delinquent taxes within a specified period of time.[68]

Finally, the legislature created the County Government Advisory Commission "to advise and assist county officials in the proper administration of the county government." The commission was composed of five members appointed by the governor for a maximum period of four years. Three members had to be selected from county commissioners then in office. Among its other duties the commission was to recommend changes in county

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ties Issued by the Secretary of State. (Raleigh, 1927), pp. 3-29. See also Brooks, "County Government Reform in North Carolina," Bond Buyer LXXV (November 12, 1927), pp. 2-4; Paul Wager, "North Carolina to Have Better Government," National Municipal Review, XVI (August, 1927), pp. 519-25; Wager, County Government In North Carolina, pp. 161-76; News and Observer, February 16, 17, 20, 1927; E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, March 11, 1927, GP-505, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[68] County Government Law Applicable to North Carolina Counties, pp. 32-3.

government laws to the next legislature. The executive secretary of the body and his assistants were to visit counties to advise local officials on various phases of fiscal management. The secretary was to receive a fixed salary, while the members were to serve without compensation "except their actual expenses." An appropriation of $15,000 was provided to cover the expenses of all activities and officials of the commission.[69]

III

On March 12, 1927, Governor McLean appointed Brooks chairman of the County Government Advisory Commission for a term of four years.[70] The other members were A. C. McIntosh of Chapel Hill, J. E. Woodland of Morehead City, D. W. Newsom of Durham, and E. M. Lyda of Asheville all of whom had served on the County Government Commission.[71] Professor Branson "declined" membership and was "abundantly satisfied to have Brooks as chairman ... because he is better fitted for the diplomacies of practical politics." Although Branson was "willing for Brooks to receive the popular acclaim and credit," he was not

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[69] Ibid., pp. 30-1.

[70] A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, March 12, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[71] Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, p. 863.

reticent in pointing out his own efforts for county government reform "for twelve years."[72] Brooks apparently cared little for the "popular acclaim and credit" accruing from his work, and he certainly never used his position to build up a political following among county officials that would have been useful in a future contest for public office. To be sure, his work in county government did keep his name in the limelight. In fact, he was frequently mentioned as a gubernatorial candidate, but there is no evidence to suggest that he seriously considered the possibility.[73] His energetic efforts to improve county fiscal administration appeared to have sprung from a genuine desire to see the people reap the greatest possible benefit from their taxes and avoid the consequences of costly blunders committed by inept officials.

At Brooks' request an organizational meeting of the County Government Advisory Commission was held in the Governor's office on March 14, 1927. The task of making the commission an effective instrument for reforming county fiscal affairs under the new laws actually fell to Brooks. He employed accountants and stenographers to aid in the preparation of county budgets and appointed as temporary secretary of the Commission,

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[72] E. C. Branson to Archibald Henderson, June 1, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[73] Interviews with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956; Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; Mr. Jones Fuller, December 2, 1956; Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

A. H. Brower, who at Brooks' insistence left the State Department of Public Instruction to become comptroller at State College.[74] In April, 1927, Charles M. Johnson, deputy State Auditor, became the permanent executive secretary with an annual salary of $4800.[75] From his office in the Revenue Building as well as through visits to various counties he executed the policies of the commission and directly assisted the county officials.

The first job of the commission was to prepare budgets required by the County Fiscal Control Act. Brooks enlisted the aid of Budget Bureau officers, several county auditors, and Herbert Wilson of the Brookings Institution in drawing up uniform budget blanks suitable for all counties.[76] At the same time the commission inaugurated its chief function of advising county officials by issuing letters and bulletins which explained steps in establishing budget systems. On April 20, 1927, the Association of County Commissioners convened in special session to hear Brooks and several other members of the County Government Advisory Commission explain "a simple plan for preparing budgets." This plan contained: an analysis of the funds

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[74] Minutes of the County Government Advisory Commission, March 14, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[75] Minutes of the County Government Advisory Commission, April 20, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL); News and Observer, April 19, 1927.

[76] Minutes of the County Government Advisory Commission, March 23, April 6, 1927; P. C. Brooks to Sam T. White, March 17, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL); News and Observer, March 24, 1927.

to be safeguarded; a classification of departments and activities that would file budget estimates with county departments before June 1; and guides for each department in calculating its budget estimates.[77] One of the main points of discussion in this "question and answer fest" arose over the relationship of the county account to the public school fund. Brooks insisted that the accountant had "no authority to disapprove any claim submitted by the county board of education" that was "within the law." According to him, the accountant was "merely a ministerial officer" who must endorse all public funds required by law.[78] Brooks discussed at length the purpose of the county government acts and attempted to answer all questions raised by the county commissioners. He concluded: "It is the sole purpose of these acts that accumulated deficits be made up and that every county in North Carolina balance its budget."[79]

From March through May, 1927, Brooks personally attended to many inquiries from county officials seeking to adjust their fiscal affairs to meet the legal requirements. In some counties the officers had no clearcut conception of a budget and its operation. The County Government Advisory Commission sought to enlighten them through sending the executive secretary and

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77 "To the Board of County Commissioners, March 13, 1927;" E. C. Brooks to County Commissioners and County Accountants, April 13, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

78 E. C. Brooks to F. A. Edmundson, April 21, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

79 News and Observer, April 21, 1927.

his assistants into their counties and through issuing explanatory pamphlets.[80] When the permanent secretary assumed office, Brooks turned over to him the work of dealing directly with specific counties. Recognizing the need for additional publicity of the commission's work, Brooks outlined three "practical" types of publicity, namely, weekly letters to county newspapers designed to keep "the people informed as to the operation and success of the County Government Acts;" special articles for Sunday papers; and published estimates of the value of the new legislation "as derived from clippings, letters, etc."[81] This publicity program was inaugurated with the aid of Professor Stewart Robertson of State College and the first "exclusive to weeklies" was issued on May 28, 1927.[82]

As president of State College Brooks desired that the institution "become definitely identified with the reorganization of county government."[83] With the approval of the commission he organized a County Government Institute at the college which was a short course designed to aid county officials in questions of public finance. The Institute opened on July 19, 1927 with

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80 E. C. Brooks to J. E. Woodland, May 6, 1927; "What the Budget Is," Brooks Papers (DUL).

81 E. C. Brooks to Stewart Robertson, May 26, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

82 "County Government Information," May 28, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

83 Minutes of the Faculty Council of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering, March 26, April 12, 1927 (no page numbers), Archives of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering.

instruction provided by members of the commission, the executive secretary and his assistants, and professors in State College.[84] The instructors set up a miniature county in order to give those attending the Institute "a clearer working knowledge of the administration of county fiscal affairs and a better understanding of relationships between officials operating under the new requirements."[85] According to Secretary Johnson, the Institute was "highly successful" and the attendance "quite large." Brooks too considered it valuable and immediately began preparations for a similar course during the following summer.[86]

Amid his executive duties at State College Brooks always found time for his numerous activities as chairman of the County Government Advisory Commission. He generally used the occasions of his many public addresses to point out the progress and continuing defects in county fiscal administration under the laws of 1927.[87] Although the legislation "was being well received", county officials were slow to introduce innovations in their conduct of financial affairs because of their own

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84 "County Government Information," June, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

85 News and Observer, July 17, 1927. See "County Government Institute," Brooks Papers (DUL).

86 Johnson, "County Government Reform in North Carolina," GP-516 Governors' Papers; H. C. Brooks to J. F. Woodland, August 17, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

87 See News and Observer, May 18, August 12, 1927.

ignorance of accounting procedures and the disorder of previous records.[88] Brooks also maintained close contact with Governor McLean and the officers of the Association of County Commissioners.[89] He apparently impressed upon the Governor the dangerous financial policies of most counties, especially their proclivity to incur extraordinary debts. At any rate, on October 31, 1927, the Governor permitted him to employ four additional accountants "to aid counties fulfill their obligations under the county government acts."[90] Two days later, the reform movement in county fiscal administration was bolstered by a State Supreme Court decision upholding the County Finance Act.[91]

During 1928 the County Government Advisory Commission intensified its efforts to reorganize the fiscal affairs of the counties. The executive secretary and his assistants and the four additional accountants representing the commission visited counties to assist officials in the installation of new bookkeeping and budget systems. The commission, of course, continued its information service and publicity program. Brooks

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88 "County Government Information," June, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

89 See E. C. Brooks to J. E. Woodland, May 6, 1927; E. C. Brooks to J. E. Woodland, August 17, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

90 Recommendations to the Governor, October 24, 1927; E. C. Brooks to Charles Johnson, October 31, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

91 North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Fall Term, 1927, pp. 358-63; "County Government Information," November 2, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

and Secretary Johnson drew up a code of ethics for county officials designed "to raise the standard of government and place it in harmony with the spirit of the age."[92] But Brooks' participation in the commission activities was very limited until the fall of 1928. During a rather serious illness in the winter he was hospitalized in the Battle Creek Sanitarium for several weeks. After his recovery he made a six weeks tour of Europe in the summer of that year.[93] Throughout this period, however, he remained in close touch with the activities of the County Government Advisory Commission. On February 10, 1928, Secretary Johnson wrote him: "We are getting along fine and I think the people and the county officials are showing more interest than ever before."[94]

In early June, 1928, the revised law concerning the sale of property for delinquent taxes created quite a commotion in certain sections of the state. The Roxboro Courier had voiced

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[92] The main points in this code were: "(1) public funds should never be carried on the private account nor mixed with the private account of any official; (2) public utilities should not be ordered or located with a view to benefiting public officials or their friends; (3) public funds ... should not be used by an official for private gain; (4) influential friends and supporters of the officials should not receive special favors...; (5) favorites should not be permitted to make undue profits from contracts; (6) funds authorized by law should not be applied to objects not authorized by law." "Business Code For County Officials," 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[93] Minutes of the Faculty Council of State College, March 6, 1928; News and Observer, August 27, 1928.

[94] Charles M. Johnson to R. C. Brooks, February 10, 1928, Brooks Papers (DAH).

strong objects to this law shortly after its enactment.[95] Under the act the property whose taxes were due in October, 1927 and remained unpaid in the following May was to be sold on the first Monday in June, 1928.[96] Superior Court Judge Henry A. Grady who described the act as "an outrage to the people of eastern North Carolina" enjoined the sale of property for delinquent taxes in Duplin, Craven, Pamlico, and Carteret Counties. He urged the Governor to support "the repeal of this iniquitous law." Referring to Brooks he declared: "I understand that this law was carefully prepared and engineered through the General Assembly by a certain well-known educator [Brooks] who pays practically no taxes at all and who evidently has little regard for the welfare of the great masses of the people."[97] Brooks simply did not consider Judge Grady's statement worthy of a reply.[98] The News and Observer lavishly praised Brooks' work in county government reform, but added: "The workings of the law show that amendments are needed."[99]

Governor McLean informed Judge Grady that his injunctions were without any legal foundation and were grossly unfair to the majority of the taxpayers in the four counties. He main-

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95 Roxboro Courier quoted in the News and Observer, April 22, 1927.

96 County Government Law Applicable to North Carolina Counties, pp. 32-4.

97 News and Observer, June 8, 1928.

98 News and Observer, June 11, 1928.

99 News and Observer, June 9, 1928.

tained that the county government laws were designed to protect the landowners and "must be obeyed."[100] Frank P. Spruill, a prominent figure in the Association of County Commissioners, heartily endorsed the Governor's position and explained why the terms of foreclosure on property for taxes in the new law were "by far an advantage over the old law to the taxpayer."[101] On June 20, 1928, Governor McLean called a joint meeting of the Tax Commission and the County Government Advisory Commission to discuss the validity of Judge Grady's charges. Secretary Johnson stoutly defended the county government acts and pointed out the value of his commission to county officials. All those attending the meeting including the Governor apparently supported the full enforcement of the county government laws.[102] This show of determination by state officials coupled with the favorable decision of the State Supreme Court on the County Finance Act undoubtedly dampened the desire of any other Superior Court judges to follow the example of Judge Grady who himself recognized that his action had no sound legal basis.[103]

In late December, 1928 the County Government Advisory Commission reported to the Governor on the condition of county

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100 Greensboro Daily News, June 11, 1928. See also Angus W. McLean to J. A. Taylor, June 23, 1928, Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, pp. 720-3.

101 Frank P. Spruill to A. W. McLean, June 21, 1928, Papers and Letters of Governor McLean, pp. 716-20.

102 News and Observer, June 21, 1928.

103 Greensboro Daily News, June 11, 1928.

fiscal administration after one year under the laws of 1927.[104] The report, highly critical of "the lax methods in collecting taxes," declared that the provision for the daily deposit of taxes was largely ignored. Of the 100 counties only forty-nine operated within their budgets, while only fifty-three complied with the legal provisions for safeguarding expenditures. The evidence collected by the commission showed that the county government laws of 1927 had "not affected a remedy" in fiscal administration, mainly because only twenty counties had "substantially" complied with these laws. Therefore, the commission recommended an increase in its power sufficient to enforce the legal requirements upon counties.[105] Brooks added that the "mass of local legislation" in every General Assembly was a "major block to better county government." He, of course, was referring to changes in county government and fiscal affairs that were made at the whim of legislators through local bills enacted "by courtesy" in the General Assembly.[106]

In his inaugural address to the legislature in 1929 Governor O. Max Gardner recommended that the "county government laws be strengthened where necessary and that they be made to apply to

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104 For a statement of the activities of the County Government Advisory Commission in 1928 see Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, pp. 90-92. This portion of the volume was written by Charles M. Johnson, executive secretary of the commission.

105 News and Observer, December 22, 1928.

106 News and Observer, January 8, 1929.

all alike."[107] The long standing friendship between Brooks and the new Governor seemed to presage a bright future for county government reform.[108] However, there were rumblings of discontent about the County Government Advisory Commission among certain legislators who were jealous of any state interference whatsoever in local affairs. Representative D. S. Poole of Hyde County sponsored a bill which undoubtedly had considerable backing among his colleagues to abolish the commission. Poole defended his measure on the grounds of "economy," an unassailable cover useful for legislators in lean years. He also declared that the commission had "completed its work."[109] The officials of the Association of County Commissioners immediately descended upon the legislature to oppose the passage of the Poole bill and to urge Governor Gardner to support an annual appropriation of $30,000 for the commission.[110] The Poole measure met its death at the hands of the House finance committee.[111]

At the same time Gardner was seriously considering a pro-

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107 Public Papers and Letters of Oliver Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina, 1929-1933, Edited by David L. Corbitt. (Raleigh, 1937), p. 13.

108 Gardner and Brooks had been associated in Governor Morrison's administration. Moreover, Gardner was a prominent alumnus and trustee of State College of which Brooks was then president.

109 News and Observer, January 16, 1929.

110 News and Observer, January 18, 1929.

111 House Journal, Session 1929, p. 122.

posal to consolidate the State Board of Assessment, the County Government Advisory Commission, and the State Board of Equalization into one body. Brooks vigorously opposed this plan and pointed out to the Governor that "the County Government Advisory Commission has functions that in no sense duplicate the functions of the others." Brooks suggested the establishment of a permanent Tax Commission to absorb all duties of the Board of Assessment and the Board of Equalization directly concerned with taxation. The remaining functions of the latter body would be transferred to the State Board of Education. This plan fulfulled Governor Gardner's desire to eliminate duplications and introduce economy in the state administrative organization, and at the same time it retained the County Government Advisory Commission as a separate entity.[112] Gardner apparently acquiesced in the latter provision of Brooks' proposal which was strongly endorsed by the State Association of County Commissioners.[113]

The General Assembly of 1929 enacted amendments to the county government laws that only slightly increased the commission's power over county fiscal administration. The commission, whose annual appropriation was increased from $15,000 to $21,500, was empowered to approve auditing firms that were soliciting county

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[112] E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, January 24, 1929, Brooks Papers (DAH).

[113] News and Observer, January 18, 1929.

business. It was also to determine the scope of the audits. With a view toward the standardization of accounting practices in all counties, the amendments provided that no system of bookkeeping could be installed in any county without the approval of the County Government Advisory Commission. The General Assembly sought to prevent the reckless issuance of bonds by counties through an act requiring the State Sinking Fund Commission, composed of the Governor, State Auditor, and State Treasurer, to approve all bond issues by any local government unit before they could be sold, unless the proposed indebtedness had received popular approval. A third act of 1929 provided that any county commissioner who failed to vote for raising sufficient revenue for the operating expenses of the county as required by the County Fiscal Control Act was to be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by fine or imprisonment. A similar provision applied to any county accountant who certified an expenditure without "a sufficient unencumbered balance." Probably as a result of the agitation climaxed by Judge Grady's injunctions, the legislature reduced the penalty on delinquent taxes from twenty per cent for the first year to twelve per cent for the first year and eight per cent thereafter.[114] According to Secretary Johnson, Brooks and the members of the

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[114] Public Laws and Resolutions, 1929, pp. 164, 241-42, 376-77, 257-58. See also Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, pp. 92-4; Report of County Government Advisory Commission, 1930, p. 7.

County Government Advisory Commission were largely responsible for the legislation on county government in 1929.[115]

During the two years following the passage of this legislation the Great Depression hit North Carolina with full force. Only then did the counties with their accumulated debts of $157,244,247 realize the error of their ways.[116] For more than a decade Brooks had warned county officials of the inherent dangers of their fiscal policies. As the economic depression settled upon the state, he and the County Government Advisory Commission exerted their full authority under the acts of 1927 and 1929 to curtail the excessive use of credit by counties (usually the poorer ones) which frequently permitted a large percentage of their taxes to remain uncollected each year. They also attempted to hold counties within their budgets. The commission, however, was still largely advisory in character, and it was powerless to enforce "sound" financial policies. But the increased appropriations and "inspectional powers" granted by the legislature of 1929 enabled the commission to expand its advisory services. Through its supervision the counties reduced their auditing expenses by $89,897 in 1929-30.[117] Oddly enough, the activities of the commission,

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[115] Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, p. 92.

[116] This was the figure as of June 30, 1929, Report of the Tax Commission 1930, p. 237.

[117] Report of County Government Advisory Commission, 1930, pp. 5-7.

all of which were designed to improve county fiscal administration, came in for severe criticisms from certain individuals suffering acute attacks of economy as the state plunged deeper into the depression. For example, in July, 1929, Senator J.F. Alderman of Vance County, describing the County Government Advisory Commission, declared: "There is a bunch of men drawing big salaries in Raleigh calling themselves a 'county government bureau' who assume to be greater than the Legislature. It seems that all they are there for is to draw big salaries and tell county commissioners how to run their counties."[118]

Brooks, already accustomed to similar attacks, refused to permit such statements to interfere with his efforts to aid counties weather the economic storm. He publicly deplored the prevalent idea that an "office is for the man who fills it"--an idea held by many county officials.[119] In August, 1930 Brooks was again the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Association of County Commissioners. In his address he emphasized the need for counties to balance their budgets, publish their expenditures, and raise the ethical standards of their officials.[120] Through his influence the Association adopted resolutions requesting the legislature to increase the appropriations and enlarge the duties of the County Government Ad-

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[118] News and Observer, July 26, 1929.

[119] News and Observer, February 11, 1930.

[120] News and Observer, August 14, 1930.

visory Commission.[121] Brooks recognized the drastic need for direct supervision of local finances in order for the heavily indebted counties to withstand the impact of the depression.

The report of the County Government Advisory Commission in November, 1930 vividly pointed up this need. It first outlined the work of the commission in establishing bookkeeping and auditing systems in counties and in advising county officials "in the performance and exercise" of their duties. There was, of course, no way to evalute this work in terms of dollars and cents, although such an evaluation at that particular time would have undoubtedly enhanced the prestige of the commission. It was all too obvious, however, that county fiscal administration retained many of those glaring defects exposed by Brooks and Branson ten years earlier. Many counties paid lip service to the legal requirements by employing county accountants who lacked even "the rudiments of bookkeeping" and by establishing budgets which were wholly disregarded in the expenditure of public funds. In some cases expenditures not only exceeded budget appropriations but even revenues. Accumulated deficits were temporarily covered up and tax rates kept low by issuing funding bonds. The indiscriminate selection of depositories for county funds resulted in "tremendous losses" with the failure of numerous banks "in recent years." The report stated

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121 "Resolutions Adopted by the State Association of County Commissioners, August 14, 1930," Brooks Papers (DAH).

that "representatives of the County Government Advisory Commission have noted mistakes and irregularities which have later proved costly to the taxpayers, but they were compelled to stand by helplessly and watch the results." The most serious defect was found in the methods of tax collecting officials, especially the sheriffs whose practices frequently produced "gross irregularities." The commission report also declared that "defalcations in public office are occurring with consistent regularity in counties throughout the State, with the resultant loss of thousands of dollars to the taxpayers and to surety companies." Among other recommendations of the commission was a plea for an increase in its own powers of "inspection and supervision" necessary to enforce the county government laws.[122] In brief, it was a request for stronger state supervision of local finances with the commission as the agency of state control, something that Brooks had been urging at least since 1921. Both the State Tax Commission and the Association of County Commissioners strongly favored proposals for more direct supervision of county finances by the County Government Advisory Commission.[123]

By the time the General Assembly convened in January, 1931, the depression had thrown the indebted counties into acute dis-

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122 Report of County Government Advisory Commission, 1930, pp. 10-18.

123 Ibid., pp. 7-8; Report of the Tax Commission, pp. 12, 60-61.

tress. They "could no longer pay their own way."[124] To meet the emergency Governor Gardner undertook a broad program of reform embracing schools, roads, and local government finance, which involved a centralization of power in the state government. The legislature of 1931, called the "Long Parliament," enacted sweeping changes in state governmental operations during its turbulent session of 141 days. It finally acquiesced in the Governor's desire to place the administration and financial responsibility of public schools and roads upon the state. The Local Government Act, designed largely to apply brakes to the uncontrolled issuance of bonds by county commissioners, has been described as "the most far-reaching legislation enacted by any state to that date."[125] This law was based upon the recommendations of a survey group from the Brookings Institution and the report of the County Government Advisory Commission.[126] Both emphasized the need for state supervision of local finances. The Local Government Act created a Local Government Commission of nine members to assume all the duties and powers of the County Government Advisory Commission and those functions of the State Sinking Fund Commission that related to local financial affairs. This new

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[124] Papers and Letters of Governor Gardner, p. xxviii.

[125] Ibid., p. xxxiii.

[126] Ibid., pp. 55-6; Report on a Survey of the Organization and Administration of County Government in North Carolina (Washington, 1930).

body was invested with the broad powers of control and supervision necessary to curb the reckless fiscal practices of local units of government, including both counties and municipalities.[127]

With the abolition of the County Government Advisory Commission in 1931 Brooks terminated his official relations with the movement for county government reform. For more than a decade he had waged a relentless campaign in behalf of the cause. Branson might have initiated the movement, but Brooks was largely responsible for bringing about actual reforms. Certainly, he gave unstintedly of his time and energy, oratorical abilities, and skill in practical politics in securing more efficient administration of county fiscal affairs. The two county government commissions of which he was the most prominent and active member rendered valuable service to county officials in the way of advice and practical assistance that could not be calculated in monetary terms. The chief hinderance to the successful reorganization of county finances between 1925 and 1931 lay in the inadequate authority vested in these commissions. Throughout this period of relative economic prosperity Brooks reiterated time and again his Cassandra-like warnings to counties that issued one bond after another, while tax rates

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127 For treatments of the Local Government Commission see Betters, State Centralization in North Carolina, pp. 106-115; Robert S. Rankin, Government and Administration in North Carolina (New York, 1955), pp. 383-89.

were kept low, budgets disregarded, and legitimate taxes uncollected. His experience as State Superintendent of Public Instruction had impressed upon him the necessity for a certain amount of state supervision of county financial affairs.[128] Only through a calamitous economic depression did the state undertake the direct supervision of local government finance which Brooks had persistently advocated since 1921. Probably at his own request he was not appointed a member of the Local Government Commission in 1931. By that date he was burdened with the formidable task of guiding State College safely through the economic crisis and the impending consolidation of the University of North Carolina.

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[128] Stewart Robertson, "County Government Legislation Begins Operation In the State," News and Observer, May 22, 1927.

Chapter X

BROOKS AND THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Throughout his public career Brooks was closely identified with movements for economic and social improvements in North Carolina. Such activities were essential parts of his educational work, since for him education encompassed "all forces" influencing man's development and progress.[1] Among these forces were the conservation of natural resources and adequate recreational facilities. For Brooks these were necessary for what he called "the general welfare." The idea of a national park in the Great Smoky mountains, a lofty ridge in the Appalachians along the North Carolina-Tennessee boundary, fired his imagination for reasons other than his own fondness of the scenic

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[1] Brooks, "The Education of a North Carolinian," p. 1.

beauty of these peaks. In his opinion a park in this area would protect streams and forests, provide additional income to the state through its attraction of tourists, and preserve botanical specimens unexcelled in North America. The establishment of a national park, as Brooks clearly recognized, would involve considerable time, large financial resources, and delicate negotiations.[2] However, he threw himself into a campaign for such a venture in the midst of his activities as president of North Carolina State College and as leader of the crusade for county government reforms.

The movement for a park in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina had actually been initiated in the latter part of the nineteenth century. On October 29, 1885, Dr. Henry O. Marcy of Boston strongly advocated this mountain area as a health resort in an address to the American Academy of Medicine. He also convinced several prominent physicians of the feasibility of a park in this area. Among these were Dr. C. P. Ambler of Ohio who moved to Asheville in 1889 and at once began agitating for government aid to preserve the mountains near Asheville as a public park. He enlisted the support of A. H. McQuilkin,

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[2] Brooks, "Five Great Enterprises That the State Should Support with Emphasis," Brooks Papers (BLS). Brooks had emphasized the need for the conservation of natural resources in his Story of Cotton and Story of Corn. In his public addresses he stressed the rapid destruction of North Carolina forests, and on numerous occasions expressed his interest in the establishment of "proper" recreational facilities. See for examples Brooks, "Our Educational Institutions"; Brooks, "How to Preserve Our Prosperity," Brooks Papers (BLS).

publisher of Southern Pictures and Pencillings; members of the Asheville Board of Trade; and Senator Jeter C. Pritchard of North Carolina. The park movement at first received scant attention from Southern congressmen and state officials. In October, 1899, Ambler and McQuilkin began a systematic publicity campaign through state newspapers and public schools. They organized a convention that met a month later with N. G. Gonzales, editor of the Columbia (South Carolina) State, as chairman. Other active participants in the convention were Josephus Daniels; Senator Marion Butler of North Carolina; Locke Craig, an influential politician in North Carolina; and Pleasant Stoval, editor of the Savannah (Georgia) Press. This group organized the Appalachian National Park Association which immediately initiated "an active publicity campaign." In April, 1900, Senator Pritchard at the request of the Association introduced a bill in Congress for an appropriation of $5,000 for preliminary investigations of the proposed park site near Asheville. With the passage of this bill the Forest Service undertook an investigation of the area in the summer of 1900. The following January Senator Pritchard introduced a bill calling for $5,000,000 to create a 2,000,000 acre Appalachian forest reserve. This measure, like similar ones sponsored by Pritchard and Representative J. M. Moody between 1901 and 1905, was doomed to failure.[3]

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[3] C. P. Ambler, "The Activities of the Appalachian National Park Association and the Appalachian National Forest Reserve

In the meantime the Appalachian National Park Association recognized the futility of their efforts to secure federal funds for a national park. Thus, it concentrated upon establishing a national forest reserve and changed its name to the Appalachian National Forest Reserve Association. This group continued its publicity campaign and sent lobbies to Congress and several state legislatures. These activities were generally financed by private donations totalling $2931.30 with the Southern Railway Company providing assistance whenever the Association was in financial straits. The repeated failures of the bills sponsored by Pritchard and Moody convinced the directors of the Association that their desire for an Appalachian forest reserve could not be realized solely through the support of Southern congressmen. They set out, therefore, to win over "easterners" to the project. Their strategy was considerably enhanced by the efforts of Dr. Henry Marcy of Boston and Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt, state geologist of North Carolina.[4] At the same time, President Theodore Roosevelt was making the conservation of natural resources a national issue. In 1905 the Appalachian National Forest Reserve Association was dis-

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Association, 1899-1906," pp. 1-7, 21-25, Appalachian National Park Association Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[4] Ibid., pp. 25-30; Biennial Report of the State Geologist, 1903-1904, p. 21; Biennial Report of the State Geologist, 1905-1906, pp. 33-39; House Journal, 1903, p. 881; News and Observer, March 20, 1902; The Asheville Citizen-Times, (80th Anniversary Edition), March 26, 1950.

solved and its functions transferred to the National Forestry Association in order to eliminate the sectional stigma that had become attached to the former group.[5] However, in 1907 and 1909 the legislation for the creation of national forest reserves in the southern Appalachians again failed to pass both houses of Congress.[6] In 1910 Charles R. Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin, published an important treatise on conservation in which he described the southern Appalachians "as the one great critical unprotected area" of forests in the nation. He predicted quite correctly "that enlightened public sentiment has so developed that the bill for acquiring a national Appalachian reserve will become law in the near future."[7] The forest reserves in the North Carolina mountains were finally established by the Weeks Law in 1911.[8]

The idea of a national park in this area had by no means been foresaken. Interest in the project received a renewed impetus from the publication in 1913 of Horace Kephart's Our Southern Highlanders and Margaret Morley's The Carolina Mountains,

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5 Ambler, "Activities of the Appalachian National Park Association and Appalachian National Forest Reserve Association," pp. 33-35.

6 Charles R. Van Hise, The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States (New York, 1911), p. 253.

7 Ibid., pp. 250, 253. See also Our Natural Resources and Their Conservation Edited by A. E. Parkins and J. R. Whitaker. (New York, 1936), pp. 8-9.

8 The American Year Book, 1911 Edited by Francis Wickware. (New York, 1912), pp. 423-24; Charles Washburn, The Life of John W. Weeks (New York, 1928), pp. 74-81.

two first-hand accounts of the southern Appalachians. Kephart wrote:

> The Alps and the Rockies, the Pyrennees and the Harz are more familiar to the American people, in print and picture, if not by actual visit, than are the ... Great Smoky Mountains. It is true that summer tourists flock to Asheville and Toxaway, Linville and Highlands, passing their time at modern hotels and motoring along a few macadamed roads, but what do they see of the billowy wilderness that conceals most of the native homes. Glimpses from afar.[9]

Both Kephart and Morley enthusiastically described the natural beauty of the Great Smoky Mountains, "the master chain of the Appalachian system" and "the greatest mass of highland east of the Rockies." They emphasized the need for protection of wildlife and forests in the Great Smokies and suggested that the area would provide "a glorious pleasure-ground in the eastern part of our continent."[10]

The "mysterious realm" of the Great Smoky Mountains, described by these authors, was penetrated by increasing numbers of logging railroads during and after World War I. The postwar era witnessed an increase of automobiles and highways in North Carolina, and motorists on highways skirting the Great Smokies were able to view the "majestic peaks" with their laurel,

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[9] Horace Kephart, Our Southern Highlanders (New York, 1914), pp. 15-6. See also The Sachovia XXIV (October, 1931), p. 4. The publication of travel accounts and scientific treatises on the Appalachian Mountains had begun as early as the eighteenth century. Among the most notable works were those by Andre Michaux, Arnold Guyot, and Asa Gray.

[10] Kephart, Our Southern Highlanders, pp. 57, 69; Margaret Morley, The Carolina Mountains (Boston, 1913), pp. 24-35, 239-47.

azalea, and rhododendron.[11] These glimpses of the natural phenomena which apparently attracted wide attention coincided with the emergence of a nation-wide interest in the establishment of national parks. In April, 1917, the National Park Service was created in the Department of the Interior. The organization of the National Parks Association two years later provided an additional impetus to the park movement.[12] Amid this atmosphere state officials and congressmen from Tennessee and North Carolina renewed the fight for a national park in the Great Smoky mountains.

II

In 1923 several bills were introduced in Congress to provide for the creation of national parks in various sections of the southern Appalachians. Congress, however, adjourned without enacting them.[13] In February, 1924, Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work, cognizant of the existing agitation, appointed an informal committee of five prominent proponents of conservation to study lands east of the Mississippi River with a view toward determining those areas that could meet the requirements of his

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[11] Great Smoky Mountain National Park (A Pamphlet Issued by the National Park Service, 1956). See also W. C. Allen, Annals of Haywood County, North Carolina (n. p., 1935), pp. 203-205.

[12] Parkins and Whitaker, eds., Our Natural Resources and Their Conservation, pp. 11-12.

[13] Congressional Record, 66th Congress, 1st Session, vol. 65, pt. 12, p. 270.

department for a national park. The Secretary also informed the several states of his "desire to establish a great National Park east of the Mississippi River."[14] The report of his committee which was presented to Congress on December 13, 1924 mentioned the Great Smoky mountains as a possible site for a national park.[15]

In the meantime the General Assembly of North Carolina had convened in special session in the summer of 1924 to consider Governor Morrison's proposal for a constitutional amendment providing harbor and port facilities. Brooks, Speaker John G. Dawson, and three legislators from the mountain counties, Mark Squires, Plato Ebbs, and Harry Nettles, were anxious to follow up Secretary Work's favorable attitude toward the establishment of national park in the Great Smokies. Through their influence the legislature created a "special commission for the purpose of presenting the claims of North Carolina for a national park "[16] and appropriated $2500 for expenses together with travel allowances.[17] The commission was composed of eleven mem-

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[14] Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 3.

[15] Congressional Record, 67th Congress, 1st Session, vol. 66, pt. 1, p. 601-602.

[16] Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956; John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, July 19, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

[17] Minutes of the Special Commission for the Purpose of Presenting the Claims of North Carolina for a National Park, October 8, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL).

bers, five of whom were chosen by the Speaker of the House and three by the President of the Senate. In a separate resolution the presidents of North Carolina State College and the University of North Carolina and the Speaker of the House were appointed members of the commission.[18]

The real reason for this resolution was to insure the election of Brooks and Dawson, both of whom had manifested great interest in the park project. Dawson was not only largely responsible for the creation of the commission, but was an influential figure in state politics and a resident of the eastern section of the state. The "proper" geographical distribution of the commission's membership was considered an important factor in winning state-wide support for the park which was generally looked upon as of potential value only to the western counties and cities. Several legislators, including Dawson, felt that Brooks ought to be placed on the commission for two main reasons. He was not only keenly interested in the park, but possessed the savoir-faire necessary for the successful conduct of complex and tedious negotiations. Moreover, the park advocates in the legislature realized that the purchase of park lands would

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[18] House Journal, Extra Session, 1924, pp. 192, 219, 224; Senate Journal, Extra Session, 1924, p. 211; John G. Dawson to E. C. Brooks, August 23, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL). The members appointed to the commission in 1924 were: E. C. Brooks, Raleigh; John G. Dawson, Kinston; Harry Chase, Chapel Hill; Mark Squires, Lenoir; Harry Nettles, Biltmore; Plato Ebbs, Asheville; D. M. Buck, Bald Mountain; A. M. Kistler, Morganton; Frank Linney, Boone; E. S. Parker, Jr., Greensboro; J. D. H. Murphy, Asheville. Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 3.

necessitate financial assistance from private sources such as the Rockefellers. They believed that Brooks would be a valuable asset in securing a large donation from the Rockefellers because of his reputation with the directors of Rockefeller's General Education Board. The appointment of the president of State College (Brooks) raised the possibility of criticism among the more rabid friends of the University; so President Harry Chase was appointed to the park commission, although he had no especial interest in the project and resigned within two years.[19]

The organizational meeting of the park commission was held in the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh on October 8, 1924. State Senator Mark Squires of Lenoir was elected chairman and Brooks secretary. Obviously, the most pressing task of the group was to persuade the federal officials of the need and desirability of a national park in the Great Smoky mountains. A committee of five including Brooks, Squires, and Dawson was selected to plead the cause of a national park in Washington, employ "publicity agents," and prepare reports for the Department of the Interior.[20] Brooks was convinced that "all North Carolina" should agree on one park site and "press it to the utmost"

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[19] Source of information withheld upon request.

[20] Minutes of the Special Commission for the Purpose of Presenting the Claims of North Carolina for a National Park, October 8, November 19, 1924; Mark Squires to H. C. Brooks, November 13, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL).

rather than risking everything by seeking "too much."[21]

In January, 1925, the matter of a national park in the southern Appalachian Mountains was championed in Congress by several Southern delegations and particularly by Representative H. W. Temple of Pennsylvania, chairman of the survey committee set up by the Secretary of the Interior in 1924. The proponents of a national park in the Shenandoah region of the Appalachian Mountains in Virginia seemed to be determined to achieve their aim regardless of claims presented by neighboring states. A permanent lobby in Washington was assisting Senator Claude Swanson push the Shenandoah project through Congress.[22]

The North Carolina park commission immediately sensed the danger of Virginia's activities to its own cause. On January 19, 1925, Brooks and other members of the commission met in Senator F. M. Simmons' office along with several North Carolina congressmen to plan their strategy. They agreed that Congress should be requested to authorize an official investigation of the proposed park sites in the southern Appalachians to determine those that would meet federal requirements.[23] On the

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[21] John G. Dawson to H. C. Brooks, December 20, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[22] News and Observer, January 20, 21, 1925.

[23] Mark Squires to F. M. Simmons, January 8, 1925; Joseph H. Pratt to F. M. Simmons, January 20, 1925, Furnifold M. Simmons Papers, Duke University Library; News and Observer, January 20, 1925; H. C. Brooks to A. M. Kistler, January 12, 1925; Memorandum for the Press by Senator F. M. Simmons, January 28, 1925, Brooks Papers.

next day Brooks and Representative Charles Abernathy of North Carolina, a member of the House Committee on the Public Lands, conferred with Secretary of the Interior Work who agreed to cooperate fully and to consider park areas in the North Carolina mountains other than the Great Smokies. Various conferences between representatives of Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina resulted in an agreement to place the Shenandoah and Great Smoky mountain sites on "equal footing" in their campaigns for national parks.[24] Congressman Temple who originally favored the Virginia site revised his bill in accordance with this agreement. The Temple Bill, enacted on February 16, 1925, provided that the Secretary of the Interior should determine the boundaries and areas of the proposed national parks of the Shenandoah and Smoky mountain regions; receive offers of land and money donations for these projects; and report his findings to Congress. The Secretary was authorized to appoint a commission of five members to undertake the investigation.[25] Brooks and Dawson were convinced that "prospects for acquiring the park are brighter than they have ever been."[26]

While the Secretary of the Interior investigated the various park sites, the North Carolina park commission intensified its

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[24] News and Observer, January 21, 1925.

[25] News and Observer, January 29, 30, 1925, February 17, 1925; Charles L. Abernathy to R. C. Brooks, January 30, 1925; R. C. Brooks to Charles Abernathy, March 3, 1925; Wingrove Bathon to Mark Squires, January 28, 1925, Brooks Papers; House Reports, 68th Congress, 2nd Session, I, No. 1320, pp. 1-6.

[26] John O. Dawson to R. C. Brooks, January 27, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

campaign to win public support for the project within the state. However, one member, A. M. Kistler of Morganton, informed Brooks that "the people of the western part of the state, as a general rule, do not want the park in the Great Smokies."[27] At the same time Mark Squires, a very energetic but emotional man, reported that the North Carolina commission was "being played for a bunch of suckers" by the national survey group.[28] Brooks sought to temper Squires' outbursts and to maintain harmony within the commission. In fact, he assumed the role of "peacemaker" more than once in efforts to secure a national park.[29] In August, 1925, he again conferred with Secretary Work about the "independent course" pursued by Virginia to insure the creation of a Shenandoah national park, despite the previous agreement of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia to cooperate in the establishment of two parks. Brooks plainly told the Virginia delegation that its activities threatened to defeat the whole park program for the southern Appalachians. He suggested that representatives from the three states hold a meeting in order to iron out their differences and renew their agreement.[30] At such a meeting held in Richmond on September 9, 1925, Brooks

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[27] A. M. Kistler to E. C. Brooks, July 6, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[28] Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, July 1, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[29] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[30] E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, August 25, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

made an eloquent plea for cooperation and harmony among the proponents of the two parks. After a full discussion, the delegates agreed to "pool their interests and work for two national parks." To promote cooperation they organized the Appalachian National Parks Association, composed of representatives from Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia.[31]

In the meantime the North Carolina park commission planned its campaign to collect private subscriptions and donations to purchase lands in the Great Smoky mountain area. In 1925 the understanding was that the park site would be purchased without financial assistance from the federal and state governments.[32] On September 2, 1925, the North Carolina park commission created a "holding committee for the purpose of receiving donations," called Great Smoky Mountains, Incorporated. The publicity work was reorganized under F. Roger Miller, Secretary of the Asheville chamber of commerce, and Horace Kephart, author of Our Southern Highlanders and other works on the southern Appalachians. Later, the park commissions of Tennessee and North Carolina employed a New York firm to conduct a fund-raising campaign with a goal of $1,000,000 by March 1, 1926.[33] Brooks

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[31] Joint Meeting of the North Carolina Park Commission, the Great Smoky Mountain Conservation Association, and the Shenandoah Park Association, September 9, 1925; H. C. Brooks to H. J. Benchoff, September 29, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[32] Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 4.

[33] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, September 2, October 21, 1925; Mark Squires to H. C. Brooks, December 1, 1925,

suggested that for campaign purposes the state be divided into districts with a prominent man from each district as manager, such as Cameron Morrison of Charlotte and attorney A. M. Scales of Greensboro. This plan was approved by the commission and apparently proved to be quite successful. The publicity bureau under Roger Miller distributed literature describing the "wonders" of the Great Smokies and sponsored an essay contest in the public schools on "Why I Would Like A National Park In the Great Smoky Mountains."[34]

By January, 1926, however, only $500,000 had actually been secured by North Carolina and Tennessee for the purchase of park lands. Squires informed Governor McLean that the opposition of "pulp and lumber interests" to the park movement had "seriously embarrassed the campaign in Asheville." He also complained that western North Carolina was bearing the financial

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Brooks Papers (DUL). Aware of Brooks' interest in the park movement, Governor McLean appointed him as the state representative to the National Outdoor Recreation Conference in Washington on January 20-21, 1926, and to the National Conference on State Parks in Hot Springs, Arkansas on June 14-16, 1926. E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, January 14, 1926, Brooks Papers (DUL); E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, May 22, 1926, GP-486, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[34] Minutes of the Meeting of the Great Smoky Mountains, Inc., December 15, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, December 19, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Roger Miller, October 27, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Plato Ebbs, October 21, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL). For examples of some of the Commission's publicity see Horace Kephart, "The Great Smoky Mountain National Park," The High School Journal VIII (October-November, 1925), pp. 59-65, 69; Horace Kephart, "The Last of the Eastern Wilderness: An Article on the Proposed Great Smoky National Park," The World's Work LI (April, 1926), pp. 617-36; Horace Kephart, "The Last of the Eastern Wilderness," The Tarheel Banker VII (June, 1929), pp. 43-50.

burden with almost no assistance from the eastern counties.[35] By April, 1926, the park commission reported $450,000 in private subscriptions for its part in the $1,000,000 goal, "assuming that Asheville would complete the Buncombe County quota." Of the amount subscribed only $50,000 came from sections east of the Appalachian Mountains,[36] an indication that the commission had not aroused the state-wide support of the park that it desired. In April, 1926, however, the State Democratic Convention included the establishment of a Great Smoky national park as a plank in its platform.[37] Moreover, the need of state funds for the purchase of park lands was becoming increasingly apparent and was being considered by the advocates of the project.[38]

On April 14, 1926, the Secretary of the Interior designated the appropriate boundaries for national parks in the Great Smoky mountain and Shenandoah regions. His recommendations were based upon the report of the special commission created by him

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35 Mark Squires to A. W. McLean, January 5, 1926, GP-478, Governors' Papers (McLean).

36 News and Observer, April 6, 1926.

37 News and Observer, April 30, 1926.

38 Apparently the first discussion of a state appropriation for the purchase of park lands by the park commission occurred at its meeting on October 21, 1925, at approximately the same time that it initiated the campaign to raise $1,000,000. Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, October 21, 1925, Brooks Papers (DUL).

in the previous year.[39] Representative N. W. Temple, chairman of that commission, introduced a bill in Congress for the establishment of national parks in these areas. In describing his bill before the House Committee on the Public Lands Temple declared: "The plan briefly is that the parks are to be acquired without cost to the United States Government, and to be accepted by the Secretary of the Interior, when they are turned over to the United States in fee simple."[40] The Great Smoky mountain claims were ably presented to the House Committee on May 11, 1926, by Colonel David Chapman of Tennessee and Mark Squires, Charles Abernathy, and Zebulon Weaver of North Carolina. They emphasized that the park would not only protect the head waters of the Tennessee River but would provide recreational facilities near the eastern centers of population. The only national park east of the Mississippi River was located in Maine. The delegates managed to secure an important change in the Temple Bill, which reduced the minimum area of land necessary for the federal government to assume limited administration of the park from 300,000 acres to 150,000 acres. However, "no general development" of the Great Smoky mountain region was to be undertaken by the National Park Service "until a major portion" of

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39 Congressional Record, 69th Congress, 1st Session, vol. 67, pt. 7, p. 7806; News and Observer, April 10, 15, 1926.

40 Hearings Before the Committee on the Public Lands, House of Representatives, 69th Congress, 1st Session, May 11, 1926, p. 5.

the entire area specified by the Secretary of the Interior had been accepted by the federal government.[41] The Temple Bill with the Committee amendments was enacted by Congress on May 17, 1926 and signed by President Coolidge five days later.[42]

Following the passage of the Temple Bill, the North Carolina park commission was confronted with the formidable task of securing the necessary lands for the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. The efforts of Brooks, Squires and others to raise funds for the purchase of park lands through private subscriptions had produced a wealth of promises, but little actual cash.[43] They became convinced that a state appropriation was necessary in view of the large amount of land that would have to be acquired from hostile lumber and pulp companies. Both Brooks and Squires were keenly aware of the opposition of "the lumber interests" to the park movement, and clearly perceived the commission's need for additional powers and financial support from the state to overcome this obstacle.[44] Squires, however, believed that the legislature would provide sufficient

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[41] Ibid., pp. 1-18; News and Observer, May 12, 1926.

[42] Congressional Record, 69th Congress, 1st Session, vol. 67, pt. 9, pp. 9450-9459, 9531, 9886.

[43] Great Smoky Mountains, Inc.: Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, October 22, 1925-July 31, 1926, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[44] E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, September 14, 1926; Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, September 14, 1926, Brooks Papers (DUL).

funds without "any trouble."[45] In November, 1926, Brooks, Squires, and Plato Ebbs began preparing their strategy for the forthcoming General Assembly. They drafted a bill increasing the powers of the park commission and providing a state appropriation of $2,000,000 for the purchase of park lands. The bill was to be managed in the legislature by Squires and Ebbs.[46] Brooks urged the commission's publicity director to initiate a campaign to arouse the interest of legislators from all sections of the state in the park project. He wrote: "I believe perhaps the best campaign would be through such literature as will convey to our people the advantage of the establishment of such a park. I think if we could set up some kind of financial as well as recreational advantage we would have a most convincing argument."[47]

By the opening of the legislature in January 1927, the prospects for a state appropriation for a national park appeared to be favorable. At this juncture Squires who was physically ill and nervous "conceived a bitter dislike" for Governor McLean and openly criticized him, and there seemed to be some danger that Squires' behavior would endanger the passage of the park

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45 Hearings Before the Committee on the Public Lands, May 11, 1926, p. 17.

46 The Technician (North Carolina State College newspaper), March 7, 1930.

47 E. C. Brooks to Roger Miller, November 27, 1926, Brooks Papers (DUL).

bill.[48] Brooks immediately contacted the Governor and "smoothed things over" with him.[49] Following this episode, Brooks and Squires arranged a dinner for a delegation of park advocates including Representative H. W. Temple and A. B. Cammerer, assistant director of the National Park Service, who were in Raleigh for the purpose of aiding in the passage of the park bill. Thirty key members of the legislature attended this dinner at which Temple and Cammerer expounded the advantages of a national park to the state.[50] By early February, 1927, the park commission apparently had marshaled all forces necessary for the passage of its bill except the support of Governor McLean who remained silent throughout the preliminary discussions of the measure.[51] Senator Simmons had already publicly endorsed the $2,000,000 appropriation.[52] Finally, on February 16, 1927, Governor McLean broke his prolonged silence on the park bill with a statement strongly favoring its passage.[53] Several days earlier the Secretary of the Interior, having determined the approximate size of the park, notified Governor McLean that

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[48] J. D. Murphy to E. C. Brooks, January 19, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[49] E. C. Brooks to J. D. Murphy, January 24, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[50] E. C. Brooks to Charles Webb, February 4, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL); News and Observer, February 3, 1927.

[51] News and Observer, February 12, 1927.

[52] News and Observer, January 27, 1927.

[53] News and Observer, February 17, 1927.

North Carolina's part would consist of 225,500 acres.[54]

The park bill passed the General Assembly without serious opposition, although the Champion Fibre Company, one of the largest land holders in the park area, had its spokesmen on hand to fight the measure.[55] The act provided for a "body politic and corporate under the name of 'North Carolina Park Commission' composed of the eleven members of the existing commission."[56] The Great Smoky Mountains, Incorporated, the holding company, was dissolved and its powers and funds were transferred to the new park commission. The act authorized a state bond issue of $2,000,000 for the purchase of park lands. The park commission was vested "with the power of eminent domain to acquire in the name of ... the state of North Carolina, and to condemn for park

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[54] Hubert Work to A. W. McLean, February 8, 1927, GP-514, Governors' Papers (McLean). The amount of land in the park was changed several times between 1927 and 1931. The 225,500 acres was reduced to 214,000 acres, then increased to 232,085.48 acres, and finally set at 223,960 acres. The park commission apparently calculated its financial needs on the basis of 214,000 acres. Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 6; Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1933, p. 3.

[55] Haywood Parker and Jones Fuller represented the Champion Fibre Company before the legislature of 1927 and urged the establishment of a national forest with limited timber-cutting privileges for private concerns rather than a national park. Interview with Mr. Jones Fuller, December 2, 1956; News and Observer, February 10, 1927.

[56] The members of the North Carolina Park Commission appointed by the legislature in 1927 were E. C. Brooks, Mark Squires, Plato Ebbs, Harry Nettles, John G. Dawson, Frank Linney, D. M. Buck, R. T. Fountain, E. S. Parker, Jr., J. A. Hardison, and J. Elmer Long.

purposes land and other property, including dwelling houses, outbuildings, orchards, yards, and gardens within the area" specified in the act. An important amendment to the original park bill stipulated three prerequisites for the expenditure of bond funds by the commission. First, the Secretary of the Interior must have specifically "designated the area to be acquired" in Tennessee and North Carolina. Second, Tennessee must have made adequate financial provision for the purchase of its portion of the designated area. Third, the North Carolina Park Commission must have sufficient financial resources, including the $2,000,000 authorized by the state, to purchase that part of the park lying within North Carolina.[57]

At the first meeting of the North Carolina Park Commission on March 18, 1927, Squires and Brooks were reelected to their positions as chairman and secretary, respectively. The funds of the Great Smoky Mountains, Incorporated, were transferred to the newly elected treasurer, Plato Ebbs.[58] The commission soon realized, however, that the purchase of the park lands in Tennessee and North Carolina would require approximately $10,000,000. According to its estimates, North Carolina would need $4,816,000 to secure its portion of the land. But the state bond issue of

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[57] An Act to Provide for the Acquisition of Parks and Recreational Facilities in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina, February 25, 1927, pp. 3-16; News and Observer, February 16, 1927.

[58] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, March 18, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

$2,000,000 and the private subscriptions of $463,000 provided about one-half the amount necessary for the park commission under the law of 1927 to proceed with the purchase of lands.[59] While the commission was devising means to raise sufficient funds, Brooks expressed his desire to resign as secretary. On August 18, 1927, he wrote Ebbs: "After the surveys are made, it will be necessary to start condemnation proceedings and your office in Asheville should not be handicapped by having to refer every bill and all its details to me in Raleigh."[60] Ebbs and Squires, both of whom greatly admired Brooks and valued his judgment,[61] persuaded him to remain secretary, because in their opinion his "services" in that capacity were absolutely necessary to the realization of the park.[62]

In 1927 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was approached with a request to include the Great Smoky Mountain National Park project among his philanthropies. A. B. Cammerer of the National Park Service was apparently the first person to arouse Rockefeller's interest in the park. Later, Squires visited the Rockefeller offices in New York, and Brooks may well have accompanied

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59 Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, pp. 4-5; Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, June 30, 1927, p. 131.

60 E. C. Brooks to Plato Ebbs, August 18, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

61 Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956.

62 Mark Squires to E. C. Brooks, August 22, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

him.[63] In any case, on February 28, 1928, Rockefeller appropriated $5,000,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial to promote the establishment of a national park in the Great Smoky mountains. The gift was to be available as soon as North Carolina and Tennessee provided funds from their bond issues.[64]

This financial assistance enabled the North Carolina Park Commission to begin the actual work of creating a national park. Its expenses were borne by private subscription funds until the state bonds were sold.[65] The commission organized its executive staff in the spring of 1928 and selected Verne Rhoades, "a most capable expert" from Asheville, as executive secretary. Rhoades set up an office in Asheville and employed "a staff of surveyors, foresters, and men acquainted with land values."[66] In describing his activities Rhoades later stated: "I had charge of the entire program of acquisition of the land within the purchase area on the North Carolina side of the Great Smoky Mountains. This work embraced boundary surveys, title examinations, timber

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[63] Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956; Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956; Testimony Re: N. C. Park Commission, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

[64] Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 5; Beardsley Ruml to A. W. McLean, November 1, 1928, GP-522, Governors' Papers (McLean).

[65] For the negotiations in the sale of the state bonds see Letters and Papers of Governor McLean, pp. 162-63; News and Observer, September 13, 1928.

[66] Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 5.

valuations, farm land valuations, ascertaining the timber stands by actual cruise, employment of necessary personnel, preparation of reports covering each ownership and the presentation of these reports to the Commission for consideration."[67] Brooks, as secretary of the park commission, worked closely with Rhoades and was well informed of all activities in both the field and office.[68]

On April 16, 1928 the commission directed Rhoades to proceed with the condemnation of land within the park area. This action was considered necessary in order to halt the timber-cutting in the area by several large lumber and pulp companies.[69] These companies, having purchased lands and timber rights at great expense, had no intention of surrendering them without a fight. Some companies accelerated their timber-cutting activities, then held out for prices which the commission could not justify by its surveys. The commission faced quite a dilemma in its attempt to deal fairly with these companies and at the same time remain within the limitations of its funds. Brooks played an important role in the delicate, sometimes exasperating, negotiations with the representatives of the lumber interests. He, like other members of the commission, disliked the "condemnation ap-

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67 Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956.

68 Ibid; Memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956; Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

69 Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, April 16, 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL).

proach" to the acquisition of park lands, especially when it involved small farm owners. He "had a deep feeling of sympathy" for families required to move off lands that had been theirs for many generations. His recognition of the emotional, economic, and physical effects upon such families was shared by other members of the commission. Thus, they employed their powers of condemnation against small owners only as a last resort.[70] To some residents the park was "uninvited and unwelcome"; others gladly accepted the opportunity to buy farms in other communities with better schools and roads.[71] The park commission, however, was forced to institute condemnation proceedings against lands owned by several lumber companies. Its first serious legal battle was with the Suncrest Lumber Company which owned 32,853.53 acres within the proposed park site. The Suncrest officials continued to cut timber in this area and consistently rejected the commission's bids on their property. In the summer of 1928 when the commission condemned the Suncrest lands, the company tested the constitutionality of the park act of 1927. The courts upheld the validity of the act, and finally in September, 1932, the commission purchased the

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70 Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956; Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

71 See Robert M. Woody, "Cataloochee Homecoming," South Atlantic Quarterly XLIX (January, 1950), p. 8 and Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 20, 1956.

Suncrest lands for $600,000.[72] Brooks played a vital role throughout the negotiations with the Suncrest Lumber Company. His patient and diplomatic approach to disputed points of values and boundaries contributed greatly to the satisfactory settlement of one of the most difficult problems confronting the commission.[73]

By July, 1929, the commission had completed the surveys and timber estimates of the park area. It had also appraised every tract of land except the small farms located on Cataloochee Creek in Haywood County. Moreover, the commission had halted all timber-cutting in the park area and had acquired 54,459.13 acres at a cost of $442,576 (approximately $8.12 per acre) from ninety-six individual owners. The litigation involving the commission had become so extensive by July, 1929 that Squires was employed at a salary of $7500 as an additional attorney for the body.[74] Brooks frequently assisted Squires in his informal

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[72] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, April 16, August 31, 1928; Report of the Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission, October 1, 1931, Brooks Papers (DUL); Report of the Activities of the North Carolina Park Commission, June 31, 1931, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner); The Asheville Citizen, October 1, 1932; North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, Fall Term, 1930, pp. 199-202; Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, 1928-1930, pp. 119-21.

[73] Mark Squires to the Members of the Park Commission, April 22, 1932, Brooks Papers (DUL); News and Observer, August 16, 1932; The Asheville Citizen, October 1, 1932.

[74] Report of the Activities of the North Carolina Park Commission, June 31, 1929, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, July 11, 1929, Brooks Papers (DUL).

negotiations with land owners in an effort to reach a settlement out of court. Brooks was also deeply concerned about the protection of park lands until they were turned over to the federal government. In the spring of 1930 he secured additional funds from the Budget Bureau for the State Department of Conservation and Development which were to be used for fire prevention in the Great Smoky mountains.[75]

Brooks desired that whenever possible North Carolina State College should render practical assistance to state projects. He was especially interested in having the institution aid the establishment of a national park. At his request B. W. Wells, a professor of botany in the college, prepared a pamphlet entitled The Remarkable Flora of the Great Smoky Mountains.[76] Brooks declared that "Dr. Wells made a contribution with his botanical studies, and I am anxious that State College students have a part in the creation of this national park."[77] He secured summer work in park surveys for several engineering students in 1928. The following year the chairman of the civil engineering department at State College suggested that the surveying of a portion of the proposed park site be turned over to

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[75] E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, May 1, 1930, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[76] B. W. Wells, The Remarkable Flora of the Great Smoky Mountains (Asheville, n. d.).

[77] E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, May 13, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL).

his classes.[78] The campus newspaper, The Technician, claimed that the park was actually the handiwork of State College, since Brooks and three of its trustees had not only secured the passage of the park bill in 1927, but were members of the park commission.[79]

III

On February 6, 1930, Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina and Governor A. H. Horton of Tennessee delivered to the Secretary of the Interior deeds to 153,876.5 acres of land in the Great Smoky mountain national park. The area then assumed "limited park status" under the congressional act of 1926 which required at least 427,000 acres for full park status under federal control.[80] On August 28, 1930 Secretary of the Interior Ray L. Wilbur notified Governor Gardner that "the park is established and the United States through the National Park Service

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[78] N. C. Brooks to Verne Rhoades, March 26, 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL); Report of the Department of Civil Engineering, 1929-30, State College Papers, Archives of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, D. H. Hill Library, North Carolina State College.

[79] The three trustees were Harry Nettles, D. M. Buck, and Mark Squires. The Technician, March 7, 1930.

[80] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, February 6, 1930, Brooks Papers (DUL); Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, June 30, 1930, p. 83; News and Observer, February 7, 1930. Of the 158,876.5 acres transferred to the federal government on February 6, 1930, 58,622.58 acres were on the North Carolina side. Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 7.

has assumed its administration and protection." He had already installed a "protective force" and planned to transfer a trained park superintendent there within a few months.[81]

The work of the North Carolina Park Commission was by no means completed with the transfer of this minimum area to the federal government. In fact, the next three years proved to be the most difficult of its entire existence. The economic depression that settled upon the state in 1930 seriously affected the work of the commission. In the following year the General Assembly was quite naturally concerned about questions of public finance. The activities and expenditures of the park commission provided a convenient target for economy-conscious legislators who had never possessed any real interest in the park project. They at first considered introducing a bill to abolish the commission, but for some reason gave up the idea.[82] At the same time Governor Gardner received letters from citizens in the western sections of the state variously describing the financial activities of the park commission as "a racket," "confiscatory," and "a squandering of money."[83] The legislature

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81 Ray L. Wilbur to O. Max Gardner, August 28, 1930, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

82 E. Grover Robertson to O. Max Gardner, March 9, 1931, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

83 Edwin Gaskill, "A Fight For North Carolina Integrity or To Save the Face of a Few State Agents, January 15, 1931,"; L. Woody to O. Max Gardner, March 12, 1931; Mrs. Ralph Lee to O. Max Gardner, March 8, 1931, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

finally enacted a bill whereby the terms of office of the members of the existing commission were to expire on January 1, 1933, and their successors were to be chosen by the governor. Moreover, the act required the State Auditor "as soon as practical" to audit all books, records, and accounts of the commission.[84] This action by the legislature in 1931 appears to have been ample evidence of its lack of faith in the commission's handling of park funds.

While the commission was under fire by the legislature, Brooks was negotiating the purchase of lands in the park area owned by Champion Fibre Company. He and Squires, vested with full power to act in behalf of the commission, joined a Tennessee delegation and representatives of the Champion Fibre Company for the purpose of reaching an agreement about the sale of these lands. Horace Albright, Director of the National Park Service, acted as referee during the discussions.[85] Brooks who was in charge of the whole procedure rapidly led the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. Reuben Robertson, president of the Champion Fibre Company, later wrote him: "While we are fully aware of the fact that we accepted a price for our

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[84] Public Laws and Resolutions, Session 1931, pp. 286-87.

[85] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, December 14, 1929, February 16, 1931; "A Statement of the Negotiations In Washington, D. C., April 27, 1931, To Secure the Property of the Champion Fibre Company Lying Within the Area of the Proposed Great Smoky Mountain National Park," Brooks Papers (DUL); E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, April 29, 1931, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

property far below its real value, still we feel that the negotiations as conducted by you were carried on on the highest possible plane and with consummate skill by you."[86] The Champion Fibre Company lands were purchased for $3,000,000 of which North Carolina paid $2,000,000 and Tennessee $1,000,000.[87]

During the next two years Brooks was a key figure in the negotiations for the purchase of two other major tracts within the park area. As mentioned elsewhere, his contact with the officials of the Suncrest Lumber Company led to the purchase of its 32,853.53 acres in September, 1932. Despite his "consummate skill" in negotiations, Brooks was unable to bring about an agreement between the park commission and the Ravensford Lumber Company which owned a tract of 32,709.57 acres within the park boundaries. The commission, believing that the price set by the company was too high, condemned the property, thereby precipitating a legal battle that continued even after Brooks left the commission. By 1933, however, the Ravensford property was the last major tract of land to be secured before the complete administration of the park could be undertaken by the federal government.[88]

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[86] Reuben Robertson to P. C. Brooks, May 7, 1931, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[87] Minutes of the North Carolina Park Commission, June 16, 1931, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[88] Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1931, p. 5; Mark Squires to Members of the Park Commission, April 22, 1932; Brooks Papers (DUL); A. Hall Johnston to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, August 23, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus); News and Observer, February 3, 1934.

On January 3, 1933, the commission reported that it had transferred deeds of 138,463 acres to the National Park Service. By that time the official area of the park within North Carolina had been increased from 214,000 acres to 228,960 acres which, of course, would necessitate additional expenditures. This official area included 357 "different and distinct tracts of land."[89] The report described the activities of the park commission as follows:

> In handling the acquirement of this area, it has been necessary to make numbers of surveys of individual tracts and locate disputed lines and lappages; and in order to comply with the requirements of the Federal Government, abstracts of titles in a very complete and complicated form were essential. It has been necessary to employ timber cruisers and various kinds of experts in order to determine values within the area. Further, the commission has had to acquire mineral interests of an indefinite value and meet the argument of land owners as to consequential damages. Land has been acquired by condemnation, options, and outright purchases. In all condemnation proceedings, where the Park Commission took an appeal from the commissioners' award, the jury has awarded greater sums for the lands condemned. The appeals made by the Commission have followed only the appeals of the land owners and were made on behalf of the Commission to protect its supposed interests.[90]

One of the park commission's depositories, the Central Bank and Trust Company of Asheville, had failed on November 20, 1930, amid the tightening economic depression. The commission, however, had guaranteed its deposits of $326,016.70 with surety bonds and other securities. The immediate payment of one bond

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89 Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1933, pp. 3-4.

90 Ibid., p. 3.

and the sale of the securities reduced the amount due from the bank to $122,716.35. Three companies holding other surety bonds refused to pay, whereupon the commission initiated legal proceedings against them. The commission report concluded that in order to complete the purchase of park lands either the state or some other agency would have to provide an additional appropriation.[91]

The defensive tone in this report of the commission's activities indicated that Brooks and Squires who wrote it were cognizant of the mounting opposition to their expenditure of park funds. At any rate the General Assembly of 1933, convening just as the depression plunged the state to the bottom of the economic abyss,[92] voiced loud and bitter criticism against the park commission. The legislators suggested that members were guilty of gross extravagance and even "porkbarrelling."[93] The leaders of this opposition, State Senator W. O. Burgin and Representative Hubert E. Olive , concentrated their attack on the "loss" of park funds in the defunct Asheville bank and the "enormous" ($7500) legal fees paid to Mark Squires. Burgin introduced a bill that abolished the park commission and transferred its functions to the Department of Conservation and

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91 Ibid., pp. 6-8, 10.

92 Newsome and Lefler, North Carolina, p. 585.

93 Harry Rotha to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, March 9, 1933; John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, April 1, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

Development.[94] Brooks prevented the passage of this measure through his personal influence with key legislators.[95]

Burgin, however, continued to proclaim that "something rotten" was involved in the park project, and State Senator John Sprunt Hill demanded that the commission give "an accounting" of its activities.[96] The newly-elected United States Senator from North Carolina, Robert R. Reynolds of Asheville, had already requested Governor Gardner to withhold the re-appointment of Squires to the park commission.[97] J. C. B. Ehringhaus, who succeeded Gardner as governor in January, 1933, was instructed by the General Assembly to undertake an investigation of the financial transactions of the commission.[98] On April 1, 1933, John G. Dawson, a member of the park commission and a prominent figure in the State Democratic Party, wrote Governor Ehringhaus: "It would be impossible for me to say how embarassing to me this continued talk in the General Assembly of wrong doing has been.

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[94] News and Observer, February 2, April 1, 1933.

[95] R. C. Brooks to A. B. Cammerer, February 2, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[96] News and Observer, February 2, April 1, 1933.

[97] Robert R. Reynolds to O. Max Gardner, December 3, 1932, Misc. 10515/2, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

[98] House Journal, 1933, pp. 53, 114, 443, 457; Senate Journal, 1933, pp. 579, 636. Oddly enough, the Tennessee legislature was also engaged in a "thorough house cleaning" of its original park commission under Colonel David Chapman. Edward P. Moses to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, March 30, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus); House Journal of the Eighty-Sixth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, 1933, p. 1960.

I have taken more pride in my efforts in connection with the establishment of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park than I have ever taken in anything in all my life."[99] Harry Nettles, another original sponsor of the park movement, later declared that "petty politics replaced the commission" of which he was a member.[100] He presumably referred to the stand taken by Senator Reynolds. In accordance with the desire of the legislature Governor Ehringhaus appointed an entirely new park commission composed of five members.[101] In view of "all the argument" in the General Assembly, the members of the old commission heartily approved the Governor's action.[102]

Brooks was not only grieved by the fuss over the park commission, but was convinced that the attitude of the legislators had been grossly unfair to the men actually responsible for the establishment of the park. "We made the park a certainity" he wrote Squires, "and practically completed all the details necessary."[103] Squires, of course, was in full agreement with

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99 John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, April 1, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

100 Memorandum by Mr. Harry Nettles, September 17, 1956.

101 Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Bulcher Ehringhaus, Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937 Edited by David Corbitt. (Raleigh, 1950), p. 447.

102 John G. Dawson to J. C. B. Ehringhaus, July 19, 1933; J. C. B. Ehringhaus to John G. Dawson, July 24, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

103 E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, September 15, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

this view.[104] Brooks declared: "I recall that Moses was permitted to stand on a high elevation and see the Promised Land, but another was permitted to lead the people ... I am led to believe that Moses still has more credit than Joshua."[105] Apparently Brooks did not harbor any bitterness toward the new commission, for he assured its chairman, W. W. Neal of Marion, of his wholehearted cooperation in the completion of the park.[106]

In November, 1934, the Attorney General reported that the investigation of the financial dealings of the park commission between 1927 and 1933 had "never been held."[107] A formal investigation might never have been conducted, but a large quantity of testimony on the subject was presented to the Governor sometime in the latter part of 1933. In the recorded testimony of A. B. Cammerer of the National Park Service was the statement: "There has been no dissipation of funds; it has been a real magnificent project and carried through very well."[108] Plato

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104 Squires declared: "Appointed as we were, to please a thought deemed fanaticism and folly we have brought the movement to a position our successors will have nothing to do. The hard work has been accomplished, the obstacles overcome, and those now our detractors have done nothing to speed us on our way." Mark Squires to R. C. Brooks, August 10, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

105 R. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, September 15, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

106 R. C. Brooks to W. W. Neal, September 25, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

107 Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1932-1934, p. 99.

108 Testimony Re: N. C. Park Commission, 1933, Misc. 10575/10515, Governors' Papers (Ehringhaus).

Ebbs, the treasurer, testified that the park commission had "spent around four million dollars" and that its necessary legal expenses had been "enormous."[109] The executive secretary, Verne Rhoades, pointed out that the commission spent an average of seventy-seven cents per acre in comparison to eighty-four cents by the United States Forest Service. Rhoades concluded: "The commission has worked as hard as any public agency I ever saw and they have done it with interested minds."[110] In effect, the testimony indicated that the commission had demonstrated remarkable efficiency in its work and that the charges of financial mismanagement were based on rumors fostered by "petty politics" and economy-conscious legislators in need of a convenient scapegoat.

For some reason Brooks was not quoted in the testimony presented to the Governor, but he had reason to be pleased with it. For almost a decade he had conscientiously promoted the establishment of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park without any selfish motives. One of his colleagues on the park commission throughout this period later described him as "the master mind and master key" in the development of the park.[111] Brooks

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109 Ibid.

110 Others pointed out that Rockefeller had been pleased with the activities of the park commission and had maintained a continuous audit of its financial records. Despite the repeated requests of Brooks, the State Auditor had failed to audit these records as required by the legislative act of 1931. Ibid. See also Report of the North Carolina Park Commission, 1933, p. 5.

111 Interview with Mr. John G. Dawson, September 7, 1956.

manifested a deep interest in the park throughout his life. After his retirement as president of State College, he considered writing a history of the park movement in North Carolina--an undertaking prevented by his continued ill health.[112] The park was completed through aid from the federal government and formally dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on September 2, 1940. Brooks must have experienced a certain pride as he witnessed the number of visitors to the park increase from 150,000 in 1931 to 1,204,017 in 1947, making "the last of the eastern wilderness" the most popular national park in America.[113]

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[112] Mark Squires to H. C. Brooks, November 24, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[113] Travel Statistics of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park (Mimeograph sheet issued by the Superintendent of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park); "The Great Smokies: Most Popular of All National Parks," The Asheville-Citizen-Times (80th Anniversary Issue), March 26, 1950.

Chapter XI

PRESIDENT OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING

In 1916 Brooks was seriously considered for the presidency of North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, but the college board of trustees finally selected a man from its own faculty, W. C. Riddick, professor of engineering. The Riddick administration from 1916 to 1923 has been characterized as a "trying" period "filled with heroism, sadness, readjustments, and growing pains."[1] In 1917 the legislature changed the name of the institution to North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, a possible indication of an attempt to lift it to a higher professional status. After World War I,

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[1] For a brief account of the Riddick administration see David Lockmiller, History of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939 (Raleigh, 1939), pp. 125-151.

however, the curriculum and administrative organization of the school was still wholly inadequate to meet the demands of a steadily increasing enrollment. Thus, in the fall of 1922 President Riddick with the approval of the trustees initiated a general reorganization of the college. At his request the United States Bureau of Education sent its specialist in higher education, Dr. George Zook, to study the institution. In May, 1923, the general principles of his findings and recommendations, known as the Zook Report, were accepted by the college trustees.[2]

In the meantime Riddick indicated his desire to resign the presidency and return to his favorite field of work as dean of a new School of Engineering proposed in the Zook Report.[3] Regardless of expressions to the contrary, the trustees welcomed Riddick's voluntary resignation. In fact, on several previous occasions strong opposition to his administration had been voiced by students, alumni, and trustees who charged that Riddick emphasized engineering at the expense of agriculture.[4] Coupled with this lingering dissatisfaction was the realization by the trustees in 1923 that the success of the reorganization

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[2] Ibid., pp. 148-9.

[3] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, May 21, 1923, Office of the Business Manager, North Carolina State College. Hereafter cited as Minutes of the Trustees.

[4] News and Observer, April 15, 17, 18, 1919; January 30, 1921; February 1, 1921; Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 139. Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

program depended upon an executive who combined abundant energy and tact with "broad educational views." Their search for a man qualified to lead the college through its "renaissance" resulted in the unanimous election of Brooks to the presidency of State College.[5]

The board of trustees had first approached Brooks regarding the matter late in April, 1923.[6] Then, Governor Cameron Morrison, ex-officio chairman of the board, began to insist that Brooks alone could convert State College into a strong technological school directly beneficial to the people of North Carolina.[7] Clarence Poe, another influential trustee of the college, fully agreed with the Governor. Poe had come to know Brooks intimately through their association in the Watauga Club, a small group first organized in 1884 by Walter Hines Page and one of the major forces behind the establishment of State College five years later. In addition to Brooks, two other members of the club were considered as possible candidates for the presidency of the college. They were Dr. B. W. Kilgore, director of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station and a well-known farm leader, and Dr. Carl C. Taylor, a professor of rural sociology in State College. Poe, however, preferred Brooks whom he considered a widely recognized "statesman in edu-

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[5] Interview with Dr. Clarence Poe, July 6, 1956; Minutes of the Trustees, June 9, 1923.

[6] News and Observer, May 29, 1923.

[7] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956, and Mr. E.C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

cation" with that "broad view of education" essential to the direction of the college.[8] Riddick, too, joined the chorus advocating Brooks as his successor and supposedly refused to step down unless he agreed to accept the position.[9]

Brooks, however, reached his decision only after a careful appraisal of all relevant factors. He was fifty-one years old and had occupied the State Superintendency for four and a half years. His job, however rewarding, placed many demands upon his physical strength, and the extra-official duties of the office, especially speech-making, had reached staggering proportions.[10] Moreover, Brooks believed that schools of technology and vocational studies such as State College were the "up and coming" institutions of higher learning. State College, he reasoned, would offer him a fertile field for additional contributions to the educational life of North Carolina.[11] He was convinced that the college should "take the lead" in promoting "the art of living well at home," the basic idea behind his efforts to establish community high schools in rural areas.[12]

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8 Interview with Dr. Clarence Poe, July 6, 1956. See also Progressive Farmer XXXVIII (June 9, 1923), p. 603; Clarence Poe to E. C. Brooks, January 14, 1921, S. P. I. Correspondence.

9 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956.

10 E. C. Brooks to Edgar Knight, July 11, 1921; E. C. Brooks to P. H. Gwynn, March 29, 1923, S. P. I. Correspondence.

11 Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, June 19, 1956.

12 E. C. Brooks, Address To the Board of Trustees of N. C. State College, June 9, 1956, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

In addition to these considerations Brooks took into account the question of his personal finances in reaching his decision about the State College presidency. His income consisted of an annual salary of $5000 after 1921 together with royalties from his books and varying amounts of honoraria for public addresses. But his expenses considerably increased while he was State Superintendent. Among his major expenditures were the purchase of a home in Raleigh, the college education of his three children, and the numerous donations expected of state officials by civic and charity organizations.[13]

After consulting these and other factors, Brooks agreed to go to State College if he could receive the same salary as the president of the University of North Carolina.[14] On May 21, 1923, the college trustees met these terms by raising the annual salary of their president to $8500, "the same as the president of the University," and provided a yearly allowance of $1500 for renting a home.[15] From both the personal and professional standpoint Brooks found the State College offer too attractive to reject. Thus, he resigned as State Superintendent of Public Instruction in order to assume direction of a loosely organized and comparatively young college.[16]

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[13] E. C. Brooks to R. L. Davis, October 26, 1922, S. P. I. Correspondence; Henry London to E. C. Brooks, June 27, 1923, Brooks Papers (DUL); Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956; News and Observer, January 12, 1921.

[14] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[15] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 21, 1923.

[16] E. C. Brooks to Cameron Morrison, June 11, 1923, Papers and Letters of Governor Morrison, p. 302. For varied reactions

On June 9, 1923, Brooks appeared in person before the trustees to accept the college presidency. In outlining what his objectives would be, he proposed that State College should not only blaze trails in scientific research, but seek solutions to social and economic problems confronting North Carolina. He insisted that "human relationships are our most valuable possessions" and that instruction in the social sciences should have a prominent place in any technological school. The college president, he felt, should strive "to perfect an efficient organization divided into self-governing but cooperating units, the affairs of which are directed by capable leaders trained to work in harmony with the ideals of the institution and each given the widest possible freedom for the development of his own initiative." In conclusion Brooks assured the trustees:

> I am not resigning from the State Superintendency ... in order to find an easier berth in the shades of a great educational institution ... I believe I have accomplished my best work as State Superintendent and there is another task closely related to my work in the past which I wish to perform before the mellowing touch of advancing age reverses my perspective, and the task, I believe, can be accomplished better at North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering than any other institution within the State.[17]

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to Brooks' move to State College see Greensboro Daily News, May 29, 1923; News and Observer, May 29, 1923; Durham Herald, May 29, 1923; H. H. Stacy to E. C. Brooks, June 11, 1923; W. R. Odell to E. C. Brooks, June 11, 1923; James E. Shepard to E. C. Brooks, June 1, 1923; Julian S. Carr to E. C. Brooks, June 23, 1923; R. D. W. Connor to E. C. Brooks, May 28, 1923; H. G. Connor, Jr. to E. C. Brooks, May 29, 1923, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[17] Brooks, Address to the Board of Trustees of N. C. State College, June 9, 1923, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

This speech "greatly delighted the trustees" assuring them that they had chosen the right man to carry through their reorganization program.[18]

The inauguration of Brooks as the fifth president of State College took place a year later on May 26, 1924 during the graduation exercises. At his request the representatives from various educational institutions did not follow the custom of wearing academic gowns. Brooks himself wore a frock coat and gray trousers. In addition to Governor Morrison who presided at the inaugural ceremony, the speakers included O. Max Gardner, William P. Few, Carl C. Taylor, and Harry Chase. Brooks' successor as State Superintendent, A. T. Allen, brought greetings from 20,000 public school teachers that Brooks had "made respectable by providing a decent salary schedule." Governor Morrison, lavish in his praise of Brooks' contributions to the state, declared that he was "as eloquent as Aycock, as gracious as Alderman, as hard a fighter as Tillman, and a better politician than Simmons."[19]

Brooks' inaugural address, entitled "The Relation of Education to Public Welfare," embodied his conception of the college's role in a period troubled by the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the clash of religion and science on the question of bio-

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[18] Minutes of the Trustees, June 9, 1923.

[19] News and Observer, May 25, 27, 1924.

logical evolution. According to Brooks, the fundamental aim of any college should be the creation of "enthusiasm for truth as applied to social well-being." Moreover, the college should prepare students for specific professions; promote research in social, economic, and political fields; and formulate a "fair standard" for measuring the "value of local government." Brooks pointed out the dangers of any education that lacked a broad foundation in the social sciences. Strictly technical training would produce mutually unsympathetic groups of specialists without any common ground for cooperating to promote the general welfare. Thus, Brooks insisted that technical education "should be based on the same liberal culture that all receive in order that the technically trained may be like-minded in their relation to social progress."[20]

II

Brooks had been at the helm of State College for a year prior to his official inauguration as president in May, 1924. When he actually assumed office in 1923, the State College plant consisted of a group of unimpressive buildings scattered over a campus of uneven terrain and few trees along the railroad tracks

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[20] E. C. Brooks, "The Relation of Education to Public Welfare," (Inaugural Address, May 26, 1924), Brooks Papers (DUL). See also E. C. Brooks to W. K. Boyd, May 29, 1924; Ernest Seeman to E. C. Brooks, May 27, 1924, North Carolina State College Papers, Archives of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, North Carolina.

in West Raleigh. The total resident enrollment was 1210 students. The faculty was composed of ninety-five professors about a half of whom held the rank of instructor.[21] The administrative organization of the college was unwieldy and uncoordinated. The curriculum consisted largely of technical courses in agriculture and engineering with little instruction in the social sciences or humanities. The school was unable to meet the accreditation requirements of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. In fact, the idea of State College as a mere "trade school" was still prevalent and in some quarters its students were considered "roughnecks" lacking "refinement and manners." Such attitudes seemed to affect the morale of the students themselves who were quite aware of the college's antiquated buildings and "trade school" curriculum, and who saw that few of its alumni held important positions in politics and industry.[22] One of the major tasks of the new president was to eliminate the basis for such notions through an improvement in the professional status and physical plant of State College.

The Book Report was the basic outline for Brooks' reorganization of the college. Book's first recommendation was that the college should assume complete control of the Agricultural Ex-

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[21] Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, pp. 135, 287.

[22] Faculty Committee, "Student Morale at North Carolina State College," (c. 1923), State College Papers; Interview with Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

periment Station and Extension Service which were then under the supervision of a joint committee representing the college and the State Department of Agriculture. The report suggested that the college be organized into four divisions: agriculture, engineering, general sciences, and social sciences and business administration. Each division (or school) would be headed by a dean. Zook emphasized the need for an expansion of the curriculum to provide students of technology with more instruction in "cultural" subjects and to attract a more "varied clientele" through new courses in teacher training, journalism, textile manufacturing, and agricultural and engineering administration. He also recommended an expansion in library facilities, buildings, and laboratories as well as an increase in the quality and salaries of the teaching force.[23] Zook was highly pleased that the college trustees had chosen Brooks to direct the reorganization program.[24]

Brooks realized that in order to carry out the reorganization of the curriculum and administrative machinery he must immediately obtain the cooperation of the faculty. Thus, in his first general faculty meeting in September, 1923, he declared: "I am not an autocrat and I believe in a democratic form of government. I shall expect from each of you a frank statement as to your

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[23] George F. Zook, Report on a Survey of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering (Raleigh, 1923), pp. 3-22.

[24] George F. Zook to Clarence Poe, August 2, 1923, State College Papers.

ideas in regard to every phase of the college and its work, and it shall be my privilege to exchange as frankly mine with you . It is only through this frank interchange of ideas that I can become the spokesman of the best thought of this institution and this I conceive to be one of the chief duties of your president."[25] Through his consistent application of this policy Brooks not only maintained cordial relations with the faculty during the period of reorganization but throughout his career at State College. The members of the faculty offered valuable suggestions on such questions as the content of courses, credit requirements for students, and rearrangements in existing courses. In fact, they did much of the actual work in executing the recommendations of the Zook Report.[26] On questions of general policy, however, Brooks worked more closely with the Faculty Council, a group composed of deans and members elected by the general faculty. The council and the president shared in the power of policy-making, and the chairman of the council, called the Chairman of the Faculty, was in effect vice-president of the college. The Faculty Council included a group of able and energetic men whose advice and cooperation enabled Brooks to revamp the college with

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[25] Alumni News VI (September, 1923), p. 2; News and Observer, September 5, 1923.

[26] Minutes of the General Faculty of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, May 28, 1924; Minutes of the Faculty Council of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, February 28, 1924, Archives of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, North Carolina.

speed and relative ease.[27]

On February 27, 1924, Brooks reported to the trustees that the initial phase of the reorganization program had been completed. The college was divided into four schools, namely, agriculture, engineering, general science, and graduate. Each school was sub-divided into departments. The School of Agriculture was headed by Dr. B. W. Kilgore as Dean with three administrative subordinates called directors of research, extension, and instruction. The School of Engineering under former president Riddick was organized along similar lines and included an Engineering Experiment Station created in 1923. Both schools added new courses and modified or eliminated old ones in order to provide several programs of study "with definite vocational aims." The new courses provided instruction in such fields as marketing, management, and industrial relations. All graduate training previously carried on in a decentralized manner by the several departments was coordinated within a Graduate School under Dean Carl C. Taylor, one of Brooks' closest advisers. Taylor also served as Director of the Bureau of Economic and Social Research and was Chairman of the Faculty for several years.[28]

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[27] Minutes of the Faculty Council, May 29, 1924; Minutes of the General Faculty, September 26, 1923.

[28] E. C. Brooks, "To The Board of Trustees, February 27, 1924," Brooks Papers (BLS); News and Observer, January 20, 1924; State College Record XXII (May, 1924), p. 5; Minutes of the Faculty Council, December 16, 1924. To compare the actual reorganization with the original plans outlined by Brooks see E. C. Brooks, "Tentative Organization of North Carolina State College," Minutes of the Trustees, June 19, 1923.

Brooks was particularly concerned about the establishment of the division that subsequently became the School of Science and Business headed by Dean B. F. Brown, formerly of the department of economics in the University of Wisconsin.[29] Brooks insisted that all students at State College, after selecting a profession or vocation, should pursue a program of studies that would "already be determined" rather than being given a certain number of credit hours for a group of courses without a definite vocational aim.[30] This prescribed program would include courses in the School of Science and Business such as language, literature, and the social sciences in order to "give young men trained for technical service a higher conception of their duties as citizens and leaders."[31] The school also embodied the natural sciences, business administration, and courses for training teachers of science and vocational subjects. Throughout his administration Brooks bent every effort to provide State College students with an education that combined preparation "in the art of making a living" with "the best thought pertaining to human

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[29] The name of this school underwent several changes between June, 1923, and June, 1924. At first Brooks intended to have two schools dealing with social and natural sciences, language, literature, and business administration. Later, they were consolidated into the School of Science and Business. See E. C. Brooks, Memorandum (c.1924), Brooks Papers (BLS); Minutes of the Faculty Council, January 12, 1924.

[30] Brooks, "To the Board of Trustees, February 27, 1924," Brooks Papers (BLS).

[31] Ibid.

relationships."[32]

From the outset Brooks manifested a keen interest in the scholastic standards and physical welfare of the students. In 1923 he set in motion a revised system of points for meritorious work that within a year had reduced class absences by fifty per cent and raised the average scholarship by seven per cent.[33] He believed that additional courses in English would greatly enhance the general scholastic status of students by providing adequate means for the expression of their ideas. Consequently, he encouraged the expansion of the English department.[34] At the same time he inaugurated changes in student government and physical education both of which he considered to be closely related to intellectual development. The innovations in student government including structural changes and increased powers produced a noticeable improvement in student morale. The new Student Council first proved its efficiency by a swift and judicious solution of a hazing episode in April, 1924.[35] Another

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[32] Ibid. See also State College Record XXII (April, 1924), pp. 10, 33-9; News and Observer, January 21, 1924.

[33] Minutes of the General Faculty, November 21, 1924.

[34] Minutes of the Faculty Council, March 15, 1924. In 1926 the English department launched The Wataugan, a student literary magazine, and later established several literary societies. See Report of The Wataugan, 1926-1925, State College Papers.

[35] Brooks was keenly interested in student government throughout his administration and attempted to build an efficient Student Council with wide powers. Minutes of the General Faculty, September 26, 1923; Minutes of the Faculty Council, April 6, 1925; News and Observer, April 6, 1925; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1924-1925," State College Record XXIV (May, 1925), pp. 20-21.

boost to student morale under Brooks was his emphasis upon physical fitness of all students rather than the production of a few athletic heroes. He reorganized the department of physical education into several divisions concerned with personal and social hygiene, physical training, intra-mural sports, and intercollegiate athletics. The instruction by this department became an integral part of the college curriculum, and a faculty committee on athletics supervised both physical education and intercollegiate sports.[36]

Brooks fully realized that the standards of the college depended in large measure upon the quality of his faculty. In one of his first meetings with the faculty he emphatically stated: "We must raise the academic level of this institution."[37] He believed that the first step in this direction was the elimination of that large portion of the teaching force possessing only bachelor's degrees or the equivalent. His intention was that the college should assist such instructors in studying for advanced degrees and employ no one who could not be considered for an assistant professorship.[38] Brooks was especially eager

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[36] Alumni News VII (December, 1923), p. 1; News and Observer, January 21, 22, 1924; Minutes of the Faculty Committee on Athletics, September 18, 25, 1923; October 9, 1923; January 24, 1924, State College Papers.

[37] Minutes of the General Faculty, September 26, 1923.

[38] Minutes of the General Faculty, September 26, 1923; Minutes of the Faculty Council, October 1, 1923. See also E. C. Brooks to Herman Taylor, March 21, 1927, Brooks Papers (DUL); Memorandum by Mr. B. F. Brown, October 1, 1956.

for members of the faculty to pursue research and disseminate their findings through classroom instruction and publication. To encourage research the teaching load for the individual instructor was reduced by several hours per week.[39] In 1924-1925 a general increase in the salary scale provided a maximum salary of $2000 for the instructor and $4500 for the full professor.[40] Brooks also encouraged faculty members to participate in the activities of national organizations in their fields and promised that the college would furnish them liberal financial assistance to attend professional meetings.[41]

Under Brooks the college gradually achieved a higher status in the public estimation, and echoes of the trade school idea grew faint after the initial phase of the reorganization program.[42] Brooks' policy, however, elicited an unexpected reaction in the General Assembly of 1925. When he appeared before the legislators to plead for a larger appropriation for the college, they questioned him closely on the real purpose of his changes in the college curriculum. Many legislators believed that engineering and especially agriculture had been minimized by Brooks in his efforts to build "a liberal arts college similar

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[39] Minutes of the General Faculty, November 21, 1924; Minutes of the Faculty Council, March 6, 1924; News and Observer, January 20, 1924.

[40] Minutes of the General Faculty, May 28, 1924.

[41] Minutes of the Faculty Council, September 19, 1923; October 25, 1923; December 16, 1924.

[42] Memorandum by Mr. B. F. Brown, October 1, 1956.

to the University."[43] Brooks not only sought to correct this misconception by a thorough explanation of his program, but invited a group of prominent farmers to visit the college to "see what is being done to improve agriculture in North Carolina." He also requested officials of the School of Science and Business to revise the published descriptions of the school in order to show its relation to technical training.[44] The complaints voiced by the legislature did not affect Brooks' educational policy for State College, and several months later he again told the faculty: "We are going to give the men who enter the professions from State College the same opportunity for general culture that any man has graduating from any other institution."[45]

One of the most perplexing problems that confronted Brooks at State College was the confused situation regarding the joint control of the Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service by the State Department of Agriculture and the college. In brief, the history of the joint control since 1913 had been marked by the rise of petty jealousies and antagonistic cliques that had greatly reduced the effectiveness of the work in agricultural experimentation and extension services. The public was generally unaware of the divided administrative responsibi-

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[43] Minutes of the General Faculty, March 4, 14, 1925; Minutes of the Faculty Council, March 11, 1925.

[44] Minutes of the Faculty Council, March 17, 1925; Minutes of the General Faculty, March 14, 1925.

[45] Minutes of the General Faculty, October 22, 1925.

lity and gave the Department of Agriculture all credit for compiling and disseminating agricultural data to farmers. Yet, the federal funds for extension work provided by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 were paid to the college, then transferred to the Department of Agriculture. In February, 1923, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace ruled that agricultural research and extension supported by federal funds had to be conducted by the land-grant colleges. Despite an agreement to place the Extension Service at State College, it remained in the office of the Agriculture Department. Moreover, the Experiment Station, though located on college property, was actually controlled by the Department and rarely used by college professors or students. As a result, the college was forced to duplicate the research of the Station for instruction in agriculture. Friction between officials of the college and the Agriculture Department precluded a rearrangement of the Extension Service and Experiment Station under the system of joint control.[46]

Upon assuming the presidency of State College Brooks immediately initiated negotiations for a speedy and permanent solution to the problem. He deplored the duplication, the "lost motion," and the "aimless experiments and futile research" in agriculture resulting from the existing control of the Experiment Station

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[46] I. O. Schaub, North Carolina Experiment Station: The First Sixty Years, 1877-1937 [Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 390] (Raleigh, 1955), pp. 95-97, 104-108; News and Observer, June 10, 12, 13, 1923; B. C. Brooks, "The Relation of North Carolina State College to the State Department of Agriculture, 1924," State College Papers.

and Extension Service. His intention was to unify all agricultural research, instruction, and extension under the authority of the college in order to render effective and practical service directly to a majority of the state's population. The Agriculture Department would cooperate only in its statutory capacity as a "regulatory and law enforcement" agency.[47] Brooks' arguments were supported by Governor Morrison, the college trustees, and the ruling by the Secretary of Agriculture.[48] Nevertheless, the opposition of W. A. Graham, Commissioner of Agriculture, created a difficult situation, for the successful operation of the proposed arrangement necessitated his cooperation.[49] Brooks overcame this obstacle with characteristic skill and tact in direct negotiations with Graham, and as if to seal his victory, he appointed the director of the Experiment Station, B. W. Kilgore, as Dean of the new School of Agriculture. Thus, by May, 1924, Brooks had successfully executed one of the major points in the reorganization program of State College.[50]

In 1925 his plan came into full operation when the legislature

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[47] E. C. Brooks, "The School of Agriculture, 1924,"; E. C. Brooks, "To the Joint Committee for Agricultural Work,"; E. C. Brooks, "To the Board of Trustees of North Carolina State College, February 24, 1924," State College Papers.

[48] Schaub, North Carolina Experiment Station, pp. 106-109; Minutes of the Trustees, May 26, 1924; Interview with Dr. Clarence Poe, July 6, 1956.

[49] News and Observer, June 13, 1923.

[50] Brooks, "To the Joint Committee For Agricultural Work,"; E. C. Brooks to W. A. Graham, July 8, 1924, State College Papers; News and Observer, July 19, 1924.

abolished the old system of joint control. The Extension Service and Experiment Station were then transferred to the college and placed under Kilgore as Dean of the School of Agriculture. The State Department of Agriculture agreed to appropriate annually $60,000 for extension and research at the college. The Purnell Act passed by Congress in February, 1925, provided an additional $20,000 for the Experiment Station, an amount which was to be increased by $10,000 annually until the total annual appropriation reached $60,000.[51] At the same time Brooks created a committee representing the college and the Agriculture Department in order to eliminate duplication in agricultural research and promote cooperation which was almost necessary in view of the fact that the Agriculture Department still owned and operated test farms closely related to the Experiment Station.[52] Largely as a result of the work of this coordinating body harmonious relations between the college and the Department of Agriculture prevailed throughout Brooks' administration.[53]

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[51] Schaub, North Carolina Experiment Station, p. 108. For a discussion of the Purnell Act and other federal legislation affecting land-grant colleges see Mumford, The Land Grant College Movement, pp. 107-110. See also for the Purnell Act and State College Agriculture and Industry II (April 23, May 21, June 4, June 18, 1925).

[52] E. C. Brooks, "Report of the Research and Other Work Conducted by State College from Funds Derived from the Department of Agriculture, June 23, 1926,"; "Recommendations adopted by the Joint Committee on Agricultural Work, July 6, 1926,"; E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, June 22, 1926, State College Papers.

[53] A minor misunderstanding between the college and the Department of Agriculture occurred in 1932 during the Great Depression. It involved the distribution of funds and the credit for research

A major difficulty did arise from the appointment of B. W. Kilgore as Dean of the School of Agriculture. Two main considerations influenced Brooks' decision to appoint Kilgore. First, he was eminently qualified for the position both by training and long experience as Director of the Experiment Station. Second, his presence in the School of Agriculture would speed up the transfer of the Experiment Station to the college. On both points Brooks' reasoning proved to be valid.[54] However, Kilgore and Brooks soon drifted apart and in the spring of 1925 they "clashed regarding the administration of the teaching work in the School of Agriculture."[55] Brooks was unhappy because Kilgore refused to become a "teaching dean" and was generally dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the School of Agriculture. Kilgore, on the other hand, complained that administrative subordinates and faculty members who went "over his head to Brooks" crippled his efforts to strengthen the School of Agriculture. On May 29, 1925, Kilgore tendered his resignation which, upon Brooks' recommendation, was accepted by the trustees.[56]

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on various agricultural problems. See W. A. Graham to E. C. Brooks, May 12, 1932; E. C. Brooks to W. A. Graham, May 23, 1932, State College Papers.

[54] Interview with Mr. I. O. Schaub, June 28, 1956.

[55] Schaub, North Carolina Experiment Station, p. 109.

[56] News and Observer, May 27, 29, 30, 1925; Minutes of the Trustees, June 3, 1925; B. W. Kilgore to E. C. Brooks, May 29, 1925; E. C. Brooks to B. W. Kilgore, May 30, 1925, State College Papers; Interviews with Mr. I. O. Schaub, June 28, 1956, and Dr. Clarence Poe, July 6, 1956.

The resignation precipitated the first serious controversy of Brooks' administration mainly because of Kilgore's personal popularity and influence in agricultural circles. The press generally agreed with the News and Observer that Kilgore's departure was "nothing short of tragedy."[57] Conflicting versions of the whole affair circulated throughout the state.[58] Some charged that Brooks had "conspired" with the faculty of the School of Agriculture to get rid of Kilgore; others described the whole college as a "hotbed of intrigue."[59] The college alumni aired the episode at their annual meeting in June, 1925 where a small, vociferous minority severely criticized Brooks. However, the the general alumni association voted overwhelmingly in favor of a resolution endorsing his administration.[60] Undoubtedly, friction and jealously existed between Kilgore and his subordinates, but all evidence indicates that Brooks was always fair and candid in his dealing with Kilgore. The trustees strongly supported Brooks throughout the controversy. O. Max Gardner, a prominent trustee, complimented his handling of "the delicate situation with regard to Dr. Kilgore" and assured him that the

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57 News and Observer, May 29, 1925.

58 Various rumors claimed that Dr. Carl Taylor was angling for Kilgore's position, but Taylor denied them in a letter to the trustees. Minutes of the Trustees, June 3, 1925.

59 C. L. Newsome to T. P. Thorne, June 1, 1925, State College Papers; B. B. Higgins to E. C. Brooks, June 3, 1925, (copy), GP-461, Governors' Papers (McLean).

60 News and Observer, June 9, 1925.

entire board of trustees was highly pleased with his administration.[61] At Brooks' request his old friend, Ira O. Schaub, succeeded Kilgore as Dean.[62]

III

Although by 1925 Brooks had implemented the main recommendations of the Zook Report, he continued to perfect the organization and curriculum of the college throughout the remainder of his administration. Every phase of the college work, whether it concerned research in strawberry fungi, building a dairy barn, or instruction in history, aroused his interest and received his careful attention. Brooks was always determined that State College would participate directly in the social and economic development of the state. Through his efforts the College Extension Service, the Bureau of Economic and Social Research, and the Agricultural Extension Service were expanded and brought in more direct contact with a larger segment of the state's population.[63] Brooks utilized the short courses in

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[61] O. Max Gardner to E. C. Brooks, June 11, 1925, State College Papers.

[62] "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-1926," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), p. 18.

[63] The College Extension Service, created in 1924 and headed by Frank Capps, offered evening classes and correspondence courses in various subjects. The Bureau of Economic and Social Research carried on research projects in agricultural economics

agriculture and annual farmers' conventions as a means to make the college a potent force in agricultural life.[64] In 1923 he initiated a campaign to publicize the work of the college in various technical, economic, and social fields. At his request the trustees created a publicity bureau in 1928.[65] He also encouraged the alumni to organize local chapters throughout the state in order to provide vehicles of communication between the college and the public. He personally addressed numerous alumni gatherings and in 1928 secured a more elaborate alumni magazine called N. C. State Alumni News.[66]

By the end of the Brooks administration in 1934 the curricula of the three undergraduate schools had undergone remarkable expansion. In many instances Brooks himself suggested and actually introduced new courses and departments in these schools. He and Schaub continually readjusted the curriculum of the School

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and rural and urban sociology that applied largely to North Carolina. The Agricultural Extension Service, of course, diffused the results of research in the Experiment Station among farmers through short courses, farmers' institutes, publications, and county farm and demonstration agents. See Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 160; Minutes of the Faculty Council, September 13, 1924. See also Mumford, The Land Grant College Movement, pp. 117-120.

64 See News and Observer, August 1, 1923; July 29, 1923; July 26, 1927; July 25, 1929.

65 Brooks, "Tenative Organization of the N. C. State College, 1923," State College Papers; Minutes of the General Faculty, November 7, 1923; Minutes of the Faculty Council, June 7, September 5, 1928; The Technician, January 30, 1925.

66 See N. C. State Alumni News I (November, 1928); Ibid., I (July, 1929), pp. 222-3.

of Agriculture in order to place the "proper" emphasis upon farm management, organization, and production.[67] By 1927 the school provided adequate instruction "on the business side of farming."[68] The additions to the agricultural curriculum after 1924 included forestry, agricultural administration, farm crop seed improvement, landscape gardening, and game bird preservation.[69] Brooks was especially interested in initiating a broad program of studies in forestry, since forest products formed the basis for a significant portion of North Carolina industry. In 1925 he persuaded the trustees to cooperate with the State Department of Conservation and Development in hiring a specialist in forestry who would offer certain courses in the School of Agriculture.[70] Four years later, the instruction in forestry was reorganized and expanded under the competent supervision of Dr. J. V. Hofmann, former professor in the Pennsylvania Forest School. The School of Agriculture, then, became

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[67] See "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record, XXV (May, 1926), pp. 20-1; Minutes of the Faculty Council, November 2, 1926; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1926-27," State College Record XXVI (June, 1927), pp. 6-7.

[68] Report of the Director of Instruction, School of Agriculture, April 1, 1927, State College Papers.

[69] Ibid.; Minutes of the Faculty Council, January 28, 1928; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1928-29," State College Record XXVIII (June, 1929), pp. 11-12; W. C. Brooks to John Huntington, November 26, 1930, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[70] "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), pp. 18-19; W. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, August 31, 1925, GP-467, Governors' Papers (McLean).

the School of Agriculture and Forestry.[71] Brooks secured three tracts of forest land for experimental and demonstration work by Hofmann's students. These tracts, located in the piedmont and coastal plains sections, were known as the Poole Woods, the MacLean Forest, and the George Watts Hill Demonstration Forest.[72]

Under Brooks the School of Engineering witnessed an extraordinary expansion in its curriculum, faculty, and enrollment. Brooks was, in large measure, responsible for introducing courses in construction engineering, ceramic engineering, chemical engineering, sanitary engineering, and aeronautical engineering.[73] One of his main objectives was to place the School of Engineering in a position of leadership in the development of the state's economic and natural resources. Brooks was particularly interested in the work of the department of ceramic engineering that was organized in September, 1924, under Professor A. F. Greaves-Walker, a widely recognized authority on

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[71] Memorandum by Mr. Verne Rhoades, November 27, 1956; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, January 25, September 4, 1929; Report of the Department of Forestry, 1929-1930, State College Papers.

[72] Two tracts of forest lands were donated by George W. Hill and A. D. MacLean, while the Poole Woods near Raleigh were purchased by the college. See "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1928-29," State College Record XXVIII (June, 1929), pp. 13-14; Report on the Tract of Land Offered to State College as a Forest Laboratory by A. D. MacLean; E. C. Brooks to J. V. Hofmann, May 14, 1932, State College Papers.

[73] Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 160; News and Observer, January 20, 1924; September 16, 1927; May 23, 1929; Minutes of the Faculty Council, April 19, 1926; October 2, 1928; Report of the Dean of the School of Engineering, 1929-30, State College Papers.

ceramics. Through the combined efforts of Brooks and Greaves-Walker this department came into close cooperation with the North Carolina Clayworkers Association and contributed to the development of the relatively untapped clay resources of the state.[74] With comparable enthusiasm Brooks promoted research and instruction in the departments of sanitary and chemical engineering. The expanded curriculum of the Engineering School quite naturally attracted a larger enrollment, and in 1926 Brooks reported: "The School of Engineering is the largest school in the college. In fact, it enrolls more students than all the other schools combined."[75]

Throughout his administration Brooks kept a jealous vigil over the School of Science and Business which was primarily his own handiwork. He continually reminded the faculty, trustees, and alumni that one purpose of the school was to provide students of technology with "the essentials of culture." The occasional complaints of the trustees regarding the "undue" emphasis on liberal arts merely resulted in a forceful re-statement of this purpose by Brooks.[76] In 1926 the school organized departments of geology and history under Professors J. L. Stuckey and Hugh

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74 "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1924-25," State College Record XXIV (May, 1925), pp. 45-47; News and Observer, January 20, 1924; June 8, 1925; Report of the Department of Ceramic Engineering For 1929, State College Papers.

75 "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), p. 25.

76 Minutes of the Trustees, June 6, 1927; E. C. Brooks to B.F. Brown, June 27, 1929, State College Papers.

T. Lefler, respectively.[77] In the same year Brooks himself offered a course in "the science of government" for seniors and graduate students.[78] The School of Science and Business was also designed to train men in business administration, industrial management, and other fields related to "the business side" of agriculture, engineering, and textiles.[79] In addition, the school contained a department of military science (or Reserve Officers Training Corps) whose courses were required of all students. On several occasions the question of compulsory military training aroused strong opposition from both students and professors, including Dean Carl C. Taylor. Though Brooks felt that the ROTC possessed "educational value," he gradually shifted it to a voluntary basis in order to quiet the criticism of the existing program.[80]

The School of Science and Business afforded Brooks an opportunity to bring State College into closer cooperation with the public schools. At his direction John F. Miller, chairman of

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[77] Minutes of the General Faculty, September 16, 1926.

[78] The Technician, November 27, 1925.

[79] Minutes of the General Faculty, September 16, 1926; News and Observer, May 13, 1928.

[80] See E. C. Brooks to Fred Bushey, March 25, 1927; E. C. Brooks to Walter Lingle, April 3, 1930; E. C. Brooks to E. C. Marly, October 22, 1930; E. C. Brooks to Pat J. Hurley, August 30, 1930, State College Papers; Holland Thompson, "Report on the Dismissal of Dean Carl C. Taylor," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors XVIII (March, 1932), p. 229. In 1929 Brooks was elected president of the Association of the Reserve Officers Training Corps Colleges in the Southern States. News and Observer, April 26, 1929.

the department of physical education in this school, established model programs of physical training and recreation in the school systems of several counties.[81] Brooks worked with State Superintendent A. T. Allen to develop a major sphere of cooperation in vocational education.[82] The training of vocational teachers at the college was a function of the School of Science and Business and the Summer School. In 1923-24 Brooks reorganized the Summer School under the supervision of T. E. Browne, who was also director of the State Board of Vocational Education. The Summer School no longer enrolled elementary teachers but concentrated upon instruction for teachers and principals in service in rural high schools.[83] By 1926 the enrollment in the regular six weeks summer session had increased to 249 persons, including 150 high school teachers. During the same period the department of vocational education in the School of Science and Business attracted an increasingly larger number of students.[84]

After consulting Allen and other public school officials,

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81 N. C. State Alumni News I (December, 1923), p. 37.

82 See E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, November 19, 1923; A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, November 21, 1923; A. T. Allen to E. C. Brooks, November 20, 1924; E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, November 19, 1924, Brooks Papers (DUL); Alumni News VI (October, 1923), p. 4.

83 E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, August 10, 1925, GP-466, Governors' Papers (McLean); Alumni News VIII (January, 1925), p. 5; News and Observer, February 5, 1924.

84 Report of the Director of the Summer School, 1926, State College Papers; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), pp. 36-37.

Brooks requested the college trustees to establish a School of Education by expanding the faculty and curriculum of the department of vocational education. In September, 1927, the School of Education, headed by T. E. Browne, was organized for the purpose of training "teachers of agriculture, teachers of industrial arts, principals of rural high schools, teachers of high school subjects, home demonstration agents, home makers, vocational guidance counselors, and ... farm agents."[85] During its first year the school enrolled 150 students of whom 118 registered in the department of agricultural education. The students were provided opportunities for practice teaching in the Wake County schools.[86] Contrary to State College tradition, the School of Education admitted women as regular students. Although Brooks was largely responsible for this revolutionary policy,[87] he insisted that the "impression should not be created that women students could come to this institution for a general liberal arts course, but that women students as well as men should select some definite vocational aim, and their schedule

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[85] News and Observer, June 28, 1927. See also Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, May 26, 1927.

[86] "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1927-28," State College Record XXVII (June, 1928), p. 33; Report of the Director of Instruction, School of Education, 1929, State College Papers.

[87] News and Observer, June 28, 1927; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), pp. 36-37.

of studies should be made out with that in view."[88] Brooks maintained a personal interest in the School of Education and wholeheartedly cooperated with Browne in the expansion of its curriculum and faculty to meet the increasing demands for vocational teachers.

The fifth undergraduate division of the college established during Brooks' administration was the Textile School. In 1923 the departments of textile engineering and manufacturing in the School of Engineering were sadly lacking in modern textile machinery and laboratory facilites for research in cotton fabrics.[89] For years Brooks had been interested in the development of cotton mills in the South, and he clearly recognized their importance in the economic life of North Carolina. Thus, he believed that State College should not only become a center of textile research "extending from the field to the fabric" but should provide courses of study in the technical and management aspects of the industry.[90] He was appalled by the meager facilities for textile education at the college and immediately set out to remedy the situation. Not only did he seek advice on

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[88] Minutes of the Faculty Council, May 29, 1929. In 1929 there were sixty-nine women enrolled in State College. News and Observer, November 15, 1929.

[89] Proposal to President Brooks, September 15, 1924, State College Papers.

[90] News and Observer, June 3, 1924; February 7, 1925; May 14, 1927. See also E. C. Brooks, "Industry and Social Progress" (An Undated Address); Brooks, "The Importance of the Technical Man to the Textile Industry," (An Undated Address), Brooks Papers (BLS).

the reorganization of textile education from various local sources, but even travelled to New England to observe reputable textile schools at first hand. At his suggestion several alumni who were prominent textile executives donated looms, dyeing equipment, and shuttles to the college.[91] Finally, in 1925 Brooks induced the trustees to organize a Textile School under Dean Thomas Nelson by consolidating the departments of textile engineering and manufacturing.[92] During the next three years the curriculum of the Textile School underwent considerable expansion especially in regard to courses in fabric design, chemical analysis, bleaching and dyeing.[93]

Brooks, however, believed that the school had two serious weaknesses. First, it failed to place its students in direct contact with the textile industry. Second, the curriculum was almost devoid of instruction in such socio-economic factors as the health, education, and working conditions of textile laborers.[94] In 1929 Brooks initiated another reorganization of the Textile School in order to eliminate these two defects, but the

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91 News and Observer, January 2, 1925; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), p. 42; The Technician, January 9, 1925.

92 Minutes of the Trustees, June 8, 1925.

93 "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), pp. 41-42; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, December 19, 1929.

94 "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1926-27," State College Record XXVI (June, 1927), p. 11.

decrease in state funds for the college resulting from the economic depression delayed the full implementation of his plans. Despite the financial obstacles, he continued his efforts to build a reputable Textile School through close cooperation with such trustees as S. B. Alexander, David Clark, and Arthur Dixon, all of whom were prominent figures in the textile industry.[95] In 1931 an investigation of the school by an independent textile authority corroborated the two defects pointed out by Brooks earlier.[96] In the following year Brooks, Governor O. Max Gardner, and the trustees unanimously agreed that the reorganization of the Textile School necessitated the retirement of Dean Thomas Nelson whose methods and ideas had apparently become obsolete.[97]

Before selecting a new dean, Brooks himself studied the organization and curricula of various textile schools. In February, 1933, he received an opportunity for wider studies of this kind through an appointment to the Advisory Committee of Three

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[95] See especially Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, September 4, 1929; S. B. Alexander to E. C. Brooks, March 20, 1931; E. C. Brooks to S. B. Alexander, March 25, 1931, State College Papers; News and Observer, November 24, 1929; June 8, 1930. The fact that Brooks cooperated with certain textile executives in strengthening the Textile School is apparently one reason for W. J. Cash's statement that State College was "dominated" by "the mill magnates." See W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York, 1941), p. 326.

[96] Albert Palmer to S. B. Alexander, May 7, 1931, State College Papers.

[97] S. B. Alexander to E. C. Brooks, August 31, 1931, State College Papers; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, June 16-17, 1932.

on Textile Education sponsored by the Textile Foundation. The other two members of the committee were Karl T. Compton, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Robert E. Doherty, Dean of the School of Engineering in Yale University. The job of the committee was to outline a curriculum in textile education that would meet the existing demands in the textile industries.[98] The actual survey of the American textile schools was under the direction of Frederick Peiker. At the request of the Textile Foundation Brooks studied textile and industrial education in Scotland and England during the summer of 1933.[99] He spent most of his time in the textile schools in London, Manchester, and Glasgow. His copious notes on these institutions were intended to aid him in reorganizing the Textile School at State College.[100] Brooks was particularly impressed by three aspects of textile education in Great Britain: the re-

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[98] The Textile Foundation was created by Congress to conduct scientific research for the development of the textile industry. It was located in the Commerce Building in Washington. Stuart Cramer of North Carolina was treasurer of the Foundation and helped to secure Brooks' appointment to the Advisory Committee of Three. See Edward T. Pickard to E. C. Brooks, February 27, 1933; E. C. Brooks to Edward T. Pickard, March 3, 1933; E. C. Brooks to Stuart Cramer, March 27, 1933; "Purpose of the Textile Survey, 1933," State College Papers; News and Observer, March 29, 1933.

[99] E. C. Brooks to Edward T. Pickard, June 13, 1933; Minutes of the Textile Foundation's Advisory Committee, June 16, 1933, State College Papers.

[100] E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, August 5, 1933; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, August 11, 1933; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, August 16, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL); E. C. Brooks, Notebook--Industrial Education with Special Reference to Textile Education, Brooks Papers (BLS).

liance upon scientific research; the emphasis upon economics and management; and the courses in design, patterns, and colors. His findings were included in The Training of Men For the Textile Industry published by the Advisory Committee of Three in 1934.[101] Brooks had just begun to readjust the Textile School at State College in accordance with the views of the committee, when he retired as president of the college, leaving the task to his successor.[102]

In his efforts to improve the curricula of the five undergraduate schools Brooks kept clearly in focus the importance of academic standards. In fact, one of the primary considerations underlying the whole reorganization program was the elevation of State College to a position of academic and professional respectability. Brooks never encouraged broadening the curriculum merely for the sake of appearance. That all courses should have "definite vocational aims" and be taught by qualified instructors were his primary concerns. A large portion of his discussions with the faculty centered around course contents, teaching load, entrance requirements, library facilities, and other questions affecting academic standards.[103] Under Brooks,

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101 E. C. Brooks, Preliminary Report on Textile Education in England and Scotland, 1933, State College Papers; E. C. Brooks, "Textile Education in England and Scotland," The Training of Men For the Textile Industry (Washington, 1934), Appendix B.

102 E. C. Brooks to A. M. Dixon, May 5, 1934, State College Papers.

103 These discussions led by Brooks are found throughout the Minutes of the General Faculty and the Minutes of the Faculty Council.

students were admitted on the basis of graduation from a standard high school or the completion of fifteen high school units and the passage of a college entrance examination. At his suggestion each school within the college appointed a faculty committee to insure the maintenance of reasonable standards by its students "in scholarship, honesty, and courtesy."[104] Under this system the quality of student scholarship showed marked improvement.[105]

While the scholastic standards of the student body were rising, the resident student enrollment increased rapidly, reaching its peak in 1930 with 1944 students. Likewise, the teaching force increased from 109 in 1923 to 265 in 1933. In selecting new faculty members Brooks consistently emphasized graduate training and advanced degrees.[106] Also closely related to higher academic standards was his work to improve the college's meager library facilities. Brooks personally directed the reorganization of the departmental libraries into one central library housed in the D. H. Hill Library that was completed in 1926. Largely through his influence in securing funds from the trustees the number of volumes in the college library increased

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[104] Minutes of the Faculty Council, November 10, 1925, March 24, 1926, May 8, 1926, July 26, 1926; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1927-28," State College Record XXVII (June, 1928), pp. 7-8.

[105] Report of the Dean of Students, 1926-27, State College Papers; Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 169.

[106] News and Observer, June 17, 1934; Memorandum by Mr. B. F. Brown, October 1, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. W. L. Mayer, September 12, 1956.

from about 18,000 in 1923 to 31,000 in 1932, not including 42,000 government publications.[107] The improvement in the standards and facilities under Brooks resulted in the election of State College to membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on December 4, 1928.[108]

Brooks by no means restricted his attention and interest to the five undergraduate divisions of the college. Indeed, one of his favorite projects was the Graduate School headed by Dean Carl C. Taylor, a widely-known sociologist. The faculty of the school was generally drawn from the undergraduate divisions, and its curriculum was designed to provide advanced study in agriculture, engineering, industry, business administration, science, sociology, and education. Brooks envisioned a bright future for the Graduate School at State College and hoped that it would eventually supply "the highly trained teachers and experts" so desperately needed in the South.[109] In 1924 there were fifteen candidates for graduate degrees, and two years later the college conferred its first Doctor of Philosophy degree.[110] At

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107 See News and Observer, May 28, 1924; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1924-25," State College Record XXIV (May, 1925), pp. 2-3; Minutes of the Faculty Council, September 11, 1926; Report of the Librarian, March 2, 1926, State College Papers; Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 164.

108 Minutes of the Faculty Council, January 4, 1929.

109 Brooks, "To the Board of Trustees, February 27, 1924," Brooks Papers (BLS).

110 From its beginning until 1923 the college conferred 125 graduate degrees. During Brooks' administration it conferred 326 graduate degrees of which sixty-three were master's degrees

the same time Brooks requested the trustees to expand the graduate work in agricultural and industrial management, business law, economic and social history, sociology, economics, and other courses "that lie at the base of technical training." Such courses would provide minors for students pursuing advanced studies in technology.[111]

The bright hopes that Brooks held for the Graduate School in 1924 became eclipsed by grave doubts three years later. Certainly, the static enrollment must have been disappointing to him. But his main concern was that graduate students "were not always required to measure up to our published standards."[112] Brooks also feared that the Graduate School was oversteeping the bounds of its resources in granting doctoral degrees. Such fears were evidently well founded in view of the meager library facilities and the paucity of advanced training among professors offering graduate instruction.[113] Moreover, the Graduate School

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in education, the largest number of degrees in any individual field of graduate work. Other statistics on graduate degrees (master's) between 1924 and 1934 are: twenty-three in agriculture; eighteen in chemistry; eighteen in civil engineering; twenty in sociology; and seventeen in poultry. See Clyde H. Cantrell, "Graduate Degrees Awarded and Titles of Theses, 1894-1940," State College Record XL (August, 1941), pp. 35-46.

111 "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), p. 48.

112 Minutes of the General Faculty, September 15, 1927.

113 In 1926 the library contained only 18,500 volumes in addition to government documents. The following year the graduate faculty consisted of 113 professors of whom twenty-two held doctor's degrees, fifty-seven master's, and thirty-nine bachelor's. Report of the Librarian, March 2, 1926, State College Papers; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1927-28," State College Record XXVII (June, 1928), pp. 54-55.

probably suffered from a rift that was growing between Dean Taylor and Brooks.[114] At any rate, Brooks halted the granting of doctoral degrees in 1927 until the standards of the master's degrees "could be raised."[115]

In the following year Brooks began to seek ways of raising the level of graduate instruction. After conferring with officials of the Bureau of Education, he decided that "the Graduate School at State College should become a graduate school of technology centering around agriculture, engineering, and textile manufacturing."[116] This plan presumably placed considerably less emphasis upon social studies than the existing graduate curriculum at State College. The sharp reduction in college funds resulting from the economic depression delayed the reorganization of the Graduate School on "a technological basis." Nevertheless, Brooks managed to raise the requirements for the master's degree and to reduce the undergraduate teaching load of graduate professors.[117] In 1931 Dean Taylor was "dismissed" and a faculty committee headed by Dr. R. F. Poole, professor of plant pathology, was placed in general supervision of graduate instruction,

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[114] See below pp. 509-12.

[115] Minutes of the General Faculty, September 15, 1927.

[116] Minutes of the Faculty Council, December 11, 1929; Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, December 19, 1929.

[117] Minutes of the General Faculty, January 4, 1930; Minutes of the Faculty Council, November 10, 1931.

although graduate students registered "in the school in which their major work is found" and were "immediately under the direction" of the appropriate dean.[118] This decentralization of the graduate program was precipitated by further decreases in college funds rather than any implementation of Brooks' plans.[119] At this juncture, however, the merger of the University, State College, and North Carolina College for Women took the reorganization of the Graduate School out of Brooks' hands.

IV

A significant factor in the growth of State College between 1923 and 1934 was Brooks' remarkable success in dealing with financial problems. One of his first acts as president was the inauguration of a budget system in every department of the college and the creation of a central purchasing office. Brooks at the same time coordinated all financial agencies of the college under a business manager, later called comptroller,[120] and persuaded A. S. Brower, his former assistant in the State Super-

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[118] "Biennial Report of the President of the College, 1930-32," State College Record XXXII (January, 1933), p. 18. See below pp. 512-13.

[119] E. C. Brooks, "The Graduate School, June, 1931," State College Papers.

[120] Minutes of the General Faculty, June 2, 1928, September 26, 1928; News and Observer, May 28, 1924.

intendent's office, to accept the position.[121] Brooks not only perfected an efficient financial organization within the college, but secured larger appropriations from the General Assembly. He personally presented the college's needs to the legislators and demonstrated the same political acumen in behalf of State College that had characterized his success as State Superintendent. Largely as a result of his efforts the annual state appropriations for the operating expenses of the college increased from $275,000 in 1922 to $450,025, in 1929, the last year of prosperity. Other sources of income included institutional receipts, large federal funds, and $60,000 from the State Department of Agriculture.[122]

Shortly before Brooks assumed office, the legislature of 1923 appropriated $1,350,000 for buildings and permanent improvements at State College--an amount larger than the entire building expenses of the Riddick administration.[123] This appropriation, however, was wholly inadequate for the building program that Brooks desired. His addresses and activities during the next three sessions of the legislature were largely responsible for

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121 E. C. Brooks to A. T. Allen, November 1, 1923, Brooks Papers; News and Observer, October 30, 1923.

122 "Appropriations and Expenditures of the University, N. C. State College, and N. C. College For Women, 1917-1933," J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Annual Report of the Auditor of the State of North Carolina, 1923, pp. 104-105.

123 Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 150.

additional appropriations totalling $1,230,000 by 1930.[124] With these building funds Brooks produced an extraordinary transformation in the physical plant of State College. Several old buildings were renovated and enlarged, walks and drives paved, and campus lights installed. Thirteen new structures included classroom and dormitory buildings, a gymnasium and athletic stadium, and a library.[125] Brooks was interested in each item of the construction program and insisted that the location and design of each building should contribute to the beauty of the campus.[126]

The two buildings that attracted his greatest attention were the D. H. Hill Library and the President's Home. Securing adequate funds from the legislature for their construction required all the political skill and convincing arguments at his command.[127] The library building, modelled after Jefferson's Monticello, was completed in 1926, and Brooks selected his former teacher, Edwin Mims, to deliver the dedicatory address.[128]

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124 "Appropriations and Expenditures of the University, N. C. State College, and N. C. College for Women, 1917-1933," J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Report of the Comptroller, State College, 1926-27, State College Papers.

125 News and Observer, July 26, 1925; March 30, 1927; June 17, 1934.

126 Alumni News IX (April-May, 1926), p. 1; Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Fifth President of North Carolina State College," (An Address).

127 Minutes of the General Faculty, March 14, 1925; News and Observer, January 19, 1927; The Technician, January 19, 1927.

128 News and Observer, June 8, 1926.

Four years later, the President's Home was constructed at a cost of $30,000. Brooks had long insisted that the college president should reside on the campus rather than receive an annual stipend for renting a house several miles away. He closely followed every detail in the construction of the house and frequently consulted the architect. In 1930 the Brooks family occupied the spacious President's House on the college campus.[129]

As the Great Depression settled upon the state, the building funds, indeed all college finances, were sharply reduced. After 1929 Brooks was preoccupied with the financial problems of the college and the somewhat related question of University consolidation. He was forced to reduce the operating expenses of the college in the face of steadily declining state funds. He at first attempted to absorb the reductions in funds (ordered by the State Budget Commission) through economies that would not jeopardize the curriculum and quality of instruction. His first economy measures within the college concerned alumni work, telephone services, and faculty travel expenses,[130] and the heavily engraved stationery of the president's office gave way to cheaper paper with printed letterheads. Such economies, however, would

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[129] For the rather extensive correspondence between Brooks and the architect, Hobart Upjohn, see the folder marked "Matters Relating to the President's House," State College Papers. After the President's House was completed, the trustees added the annual allowance of $1500 for rent to the president's salary; thus, Brooks' salary was $10,000. See The Budget of the State of North Carolina, 1929-1931, p. 268.

[130] Minutes of the Faculty Council, May 6, 1930.

not cover the increasingly drastic reductions in the college budget. Thus, in 1931 Brooks began reducing the salaries of the faculty, and for the next two years he seldom went before the Faculty Council without announcing further cuts in the budget.[131] Between 1929 and 1933 the state appropriations to the college declined by more than forty per cent.[132] When Comptroller A. S. Brower resigned in 1931 to become State Purchasing Agent, Brooks assumed direct charge of the college finances. His urgent appeals to the General Assembly of 1933 only produced a subsistence budget, but nevertheless Brooks managed to steer State College safely through the darkest period of the depression.[133]

In addition to tedious financial questions, Brooks encountered many other difficult and sometimes unpleasant problems during his career at State College. He was always deeply concerned about the reputation of the college and reckoned public opinion

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[131] See Minutes of the Faculty Council, September, 1931-September, 1933, and especially Minutes of the Faculty Council, December 31, 1931.

[132] The President's Report, 1931-1932, State College Papers.

[133] News and Observer, March 8, 1932; March 18, 1933; Minutes of the General Faculty, April 23, 1933; Minutes of the Faculty Council, September 8, 1933; President's Report, 1931-1932, State College Papers. In 1933 Brooks sought to interest W. N. Reynolds of Winston-Salem, the tobacco magnate, in establishing a Reynolds Foundation "for the betterment of rural life in North Carolina." According to Brooks' plan, the multi-million dollar foundation would be primarily concerned with improving agriculture and would presumably aid State College. Apparently, Brooks' plans never went beyond preliminary discussions. For Brooks' outline of a Reynolds Foundation see E. C. Brooks to W. N. Reynolds, March 14, 1933, Brooks Papers (DUL).

as a pertinent factor in the welfare of the institution. Thus, he took into account the sentiments expressed by the alumni and the press. The newspapers in the state were usually generous in their treatment of State College. Occasionally, however, they embarrassed Brooks by publishing erroneous accounts about campus activities and by capitalizing on unfortunate incidents within the college.[134] The alumni generally rallied to his defense whenever the need arose and vigorously supported his policies, but a few zealous sports fans among them periodically created disturbances about the athletic program and clashed with the faculty committee on athletics.[135] Their primary concern for "a winning team" irritated Brooks and on one occasion led him to remark: "I will be glad when I can retire and let someone else wrestle with this athletic problem."[136]

Brooks was ever mindful too of the reaction of the General

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[134] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956. The files of News and Observer, the Charlotte Observer, the Durham Herald, and the Greensboro Daily News for the period of Brooks' administration indicate that his policies were generally supported by the press and that State College frequently received unqualified praise in the press.

[135] See Minutes of the State College Athletic Committee, September 18, 25, 1923; Carl C. Taylor to E. C. Brooks, January 16, 1924; Minutes of the Faculty Committee on Athletics, March 18, 1930, May 27, 1930, October 17, 1930, January 12, 1932; Minutes of the Special Athletic Committee, November 14, 1930; Brooks' Memorandum, January 25, 1931; David Clark to E. C. Brooks, October 13, 1931, State College Papers. For information on the records of the various athletic teams during Brooks' administration see Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, pp. 179-83.

[136] Memorandum by Mr. W. L. Mayer, September 12, 1956.

Assembly to any question affecting State College. Indeed, he could scarcely do otherwise in view of its control over the college purse-strings. This factor coupled with his understanding of legislative psychology may partially account for his position in the controversy between the so-called fundamentalists and modernists concerning Darwin's theory of biological evolution. The controversy reached its apogee in North Carolina in 1925 and 1927 when the fundamentalists carried their fight to the floor of the legislature.[137] In 1925 Representative D. Scott Poole, proclaiming that "the Lord Jesus is on trial," introduced a bill to bar the teaching of evolution in public schools. The opposition to the bill, led by President Harry Chase of the University and President William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College, resulted in its defeat by a vote of 67 to 46. Nevertheless, the fundamentalists reorganized their forces, refilled their coffers, and prepared for a showdown in the legislature of 1927. In that year Poole again introduced an anti-evolution bill that died in the committee.[138]

In 1925 Brooks did not join Chase and Poteat in an address to the General Assembly opposing the Poole Bill. But B. W. Wells and Z. P. Metcalf, professors of botany and zoology respectively,

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[137] For a brief account of the evolution controversy in North Carolina see Norman Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven, 1954), pp. 84-86.

[138] Ibid.; Edgar Knight, "Monkey or Mud in North Carolina," The Independent CXVIII (May 14, 1927), pp. 515-16, 523; The Technician, February 13, 1925.

represented State College and voiced strong objections to the measure.[139] At the same time Brooks was seeking to obtain a large appropriation from the legislature and fighting charges that he was building a "liberal arts college."[140] He probably considered it unwise to antagonize certain legislators by openly casting his lot with Chase and Poteat. His first lengthy statement on the evolution controversy appeared in June, 1925 in an address, entitled "The Need of Cooperation Between Teachers and Ministers," that was clearly a plea for moderation. Brooks stoutly defended academic freedom and denounced attempts by "jealous denominationalists" to apply "religious tests to those whose orthodoxy may be questioned." But he insisted that even academic freedom had "its metes and bounds and does not presuppose that a college teacher has license to propagate any noxious doctrines that may dribble from the vagaries of an unwholesome mind." For him the "simple faith of our devout people" still contained a valuable truth that warranted universal respect.[141] Brooks maintained his position in the face of various demands by the so-called Committee of One Hundred, a fundamentalist

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[139] The Technician, February 13, 1925.

[140] Minutes of the General Faculty, March 4, 14, 1925.

[141] E. C. Brooks, "The Need of Cooperation Between Teachers and Ministers," (An Address, June, 1925), Brooks Papers (BLS). See also News and Observer, April 2, 1926; "Annual Report of the President of the College, 1925-26," State College Record XXV (May, 1926), pp. 11-13.

group predominantly Presbyterian in membership.[142] In a discussion with the Faculty Council on February 1, 1927, he quite accurately predicted that the second Poole Bill would die in the committee, but "urged that unless it became absolutely necessary State College should not be drawn into a discussion on the bill."[143]

By 1929 the evolution controversy had faded from the legislative arena only to be replaced by a discussion of more immediate concern to Brooks. The outburst was touched off by the so-called "Apple Orchard Affair" in which a State College student was shot and seriously wounded by a Negro watchman on October 3, 1928, while stealing apples from the horticultural department's orchard.[144] Brooks publicly deplored the shooting and immediately undertook a thorough investigation to determine the persons responsible for supplying the watchman with live ammunition. The incident precipitated an emergency meeting of the trustees, a widely publicized court trial, and the dismissal of

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[142] W. P. Few to E. C. Brooks, March 29, 1926; E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, April 1, 1926, Few Papers; R. A. McLeod to E. C. Brooks, February 5, 1926, State College Papers.

[143] Minutes of the Faculty Council, February 1, 1927.

[144] The student was Dixon Poole from Spartanburg, South Carolina. He received a serious spinal injury from the shot and was hospitalized for several weeks at the college's expense. See Minutes of a Called Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, October 6, 1928; Clarence Poe to Members of the Board of Trustees, October 10, 1928, State College Papers.

the superintendent of the horticultural grounds.[145] The clamor had barely subsided when Senator W. M. Persons provoked a discussion of the affair in the General Assembly in February, 1929. In concluding a tirade against Brooks and his "political activities," the Senator shouted: "I understand it [the college] even keeps a nigger to shoot boys for taking an apple or watermelon."[146] Person's colleagues, however, squelched his attempt to inaugurate a full scale investigation of State College by a legislative committee.[147]

The most severe criticism levelled against Brooks during his career at State College was precipitated by the "dismissal" of Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Dean of the Graduate School. At first Brooks had relied heavily upon Dean Taylor who also served as Chairman of the Faculty for several years and headed several important committees during the reorganization of the college. Taylor became a well-known figure in North Carolina through his activities outside the college, and his book Rural Sociology was well received throughout the country. Beginning in 1925, however, Brooks no longer took counsel with Taylor so freely. According to Taylor, the strained relations grew out of Dean

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145 News and Observer, October 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 21, 28, 1928; E. L. Cloyd to E. C. Brooks, October ?, 1928; E. C. Brooks to L. S. Brassfield, November 27, 1928; J. W. Bailey to E. C. Brooks, January 30, 1929; E. C. Brooks to J. W. Bailey, February 1, 1929; D. G. Brummitt to E. C. Brooks, April 11, 1929, State College Papers.

146 News and Observer, February 9, 1929.

147 News and Observer, February 12, 1929.

Kilgore's resignation in 1925 when Brooks allowed the odium of the affair to fall on Taylor although he bore no responsibility whatever in the case. During the next several years friction developed between the two men regarding various activities at the college.[148] In the same period Taylor's "liberal" views on social and economic questions aroused the ire of David Clark, a college trustee, who owned and edited the reactionary Textile Bulletin. But Clark's "unbelievably medieval utterances" were embarrassing not only for Brooks but certain textile executives on the college board of trustees.[149] Moreover, since 1925 Brooks had continually received ugly reports that reflected upon Taylor's moral character. He apparently came to believe that these stories were not without foundation and feared that the reputation of the college was in jeopardy.[150] But he somehow

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[148] Holland Thompson, "The Dismissal of Dean Carl Taylor," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors XVIII (March, 1932), pp. 224-232; Interviews with Dr. Clarence Poe, July 6, 1956; Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, 1956; Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; Dean E. L. Cloyd, July 6, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. B. F. Brown, October 1, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. W. L. Mayer, September 12, 1956; Interview with Dr. Carl C. Taylor, February 19, 1957.

[149] David Clark, "They Honor Norman Thomas," Southern Textile Bulletin, December 11, 1930; David Clark, "Where Does Freedom of Speech Begin and License Begin," Reprint from the Southern Textile Bulletin; Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956; Thompson, "Dismissal of Dean Carl Taylor," Bulletin of the AAUP XVIII (March, 1932), pp. 228-9.

[150] John Lawrence to E. C. Brooks, March 3, 1925; R. Murphy Williams to E. C. Brooks, August 5, 1926; E. C. Brooks to R. Murphy Williams, August 7, 1926, State College Papers. Other sources of information withheld upon request.

managed to keep them out of the press.

In 1930 a sensational newspaper article by Milton Abernathey, an erratic State College student, precipitated a further cleavage in the relations of Brooks and Taylor. The article was based upon information contained in three pages of a State College master's thesis, entitled "A Study in Student Opinion," written in 1928. Abernathey's account, published in the News and Observer on November 2, 1930, declared that "the game of cheating at State College is not equalled by any other sport."[151] Several days later, the Student Council charged the author with "reflecting on the student body and injuring the reputation of the college" by an article containing out-dated statements lifted out of context. At this juncture Dean Taylor injected the issue of "free speech" and appeared as Abernathey's "defense attorney" before the Student Council.[152] The whole episode was widely publicized and "badly handled" by the press. The News and Observer, piously championing "freedom of speech," created the impression that the affair was actually a struggle between Brooks and Taylor, the one trodding upon civil liberties and the other defending them.[153] At any rate, Abernathey left

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[151] News and Observer, November 2, 1930. Cf. William N. Hicks, "A Study in Student Opinion," (Master of Science Thesis, 1929), D. H. Hill Library, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[152] C. E. Brake to E. C. Brooks, November 8, 1930; E. L. Cloyd to Dan Paul, November 14, 1930, State College Papers; The Technician, November 7, 14, 1930.

[153] News and Observer, November 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 18, 1925.

State College under pressure from Brooks and entered the University of North Carolina in January, 1931.[154]

The long standing friction between Taylor and Brooks coupled with the reduced appropriations for the college led Brooks to recommend the abolition of Taylor's position as Dean of the Graduate School in June, 1931. Brooks characterized his recommendation as an economy measure and placed it on an impersonal level by requesting the abolition of an office rather than the dismissal of an individual who was perhaps the most distinguished member of the faculty. He undoubtedly recognized Taylor's abilities, but at the same time believed that the college would suffer from the continued discord between them and from the offensive rumors about Taylor. Brooks also argued that Taylor, a sociologist, "could not give the right direction" to the reorganization of the Graduate School on a "technological" basis. The approval of Brooks' recommendation by the trustees was not unanimous either in the Executive Committee or the full board. The outstanding dissenter was Mr. Clarence Poe, one of the trustees responsible for bringing Brooks to State College in 1923.[155]

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[154] Minutes of the Faculty Council, December 16, 1930.

[155] Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees, June 8, 1931; Brooks, "The Graduate School, 1931;" H. W. Tyler to E. C. Brooks, June 12, 1931; E. C. Brooks to H. W. Tyler, June 12, 1931; E. C. Brooks to Sprague Silver, June 19, 1931, State College Papers; News and Observer, June 9, 1931; Interview with Dr. Carl C. Taylor, February 19, 1957.

The "dismissal" of Dean Taylor brought a storm of protest and criticism upon Brooks. About one hundred members of the college's graduating class in 1931 signed a petition protesting his action. Several civic organizations publicly censured Brooks, and the pastor of the United Church of Raleigh characterized him as a "mere politician." The press generally defended Taylor, praised his services to the state, and accused Brooks of "firing" him because of his defense of "free speech" and "liberal" social views. The Durham Morning Herald, almost alone among the major dailies, supported Brooks' position. The incident precipitated such a clamor in the state that the Baltimore Evening Sun sent a reporter to cover the story.[156] The American Association of University Professors initiated an investigation of the episode under Holland Thompson, a native North Carolinian and professor in the College of the City of New York, to determine whether academic freedom and tenure had been violated. After his thorough, impartial investigation Thompson largely rejected Taylor's "liberal" views, the suggestion of a struggle for power between Brooks and Taylor, and the need for economy as significant factors in the case. He conclud-

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156 See News and Observer, June 9, 12, 16, 1931; Greensboro Daily News, June 10, 1931; Durham Morning Herald, June 11, 1931; Thompson, "Dismissal of Dean Carl C. Taylor," Bulletin of the AAUP XVIII (March, 1932), pp. 224-25. In later years at least two authors described Taylor's "dismissal" as a classic example of the infringement of academic freedom and tenure in the South in the twentieth century. See Virginius Dabney, Liberalism In the South (Chapel Hill, 1932), pp. 343-44; Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 326.

ed that "the fundamental reason for the action seemed to be the tension which had developed between able men differing widely in aims and temperament."[157] The Association accepted his decision as conclusive and took no further action.

V

During his eleven years at State College Brooks found time for numerous activities beyond the pale of college administration. He devoted much time and energy to his work in the two county government commissions and the North Carolina Park Commission.[158] He served as chairman of the Public School Equalizing Fund Commission, vice-president of the State Literary and Historical Commission, and president of the North Carolina College Conference which he had founded while State Superintendent.[159] He was also a member of the board of directors of the North Carolina State Fair and worked closely with Governor McLean in reorganizing the fair under state control.[160] In 1925 Brooks

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157 Thompson, "Dismissal of Dean Carl C. Taylor," Bulletin of the AAUP XVIII (March, 1932), p. 332.

158 See above chapters ix and x.

159 News and Observer, May 5, 1925; October 31, 1929; The Technician, October 17, 1930.

160 Walter Clark to E. C. Brooks, August 9, 1923; Walter Clark to William Sanders, August 9, 1923, The Papers of Walter Clark Edited by Audrey L. Brooks and Hugh Lefler. (Chapel Hill, 1950), II, pp. 472-73; News and Observer, April 7, 1925; February 6, 1927; August 9, 1927; September 13, 1927; March 13, 1928; October 21, 1928; A. W. McLean to R. L. McMillan, October 21, 1927, GP-521, Governors' Papers (McLean).

was among eight prominent educators appointed to the Commission on the Length of Elementary Education, sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund and headed by Dr. Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago. For two years Brooks gave generously of his time to the investigations of the commission, and many of his suggestions were incorporated in its published report.[161] Throughout his career at State College he played an active role in the affairs of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities.[162]

Governors McLean and Gardner frequently called upon Brooks for advice on various economic and social questions.[163] During the 1920's he studied the agricultural depression and offered numerous suggestions for improving the farmers' plight. The major points in his farm program were: diversification of crops; cooperative purchasing and marketing organizations; sound farm management; and county-wide systems of practical agricultural

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161 Charles Judd to E. C. Brooks, July 24, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Charles Judd, July 27, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Charles Judd, September 26, 1925; E. C. Brooks to Charles Judd, February 17, 1927; Report of the Commission on the Length of Elementary Education [with Brooks' suggesions], Brooks Papers (DUL); Report of the Commission on the Length of Elementary Education (Chicago, 1927).

162 See Proceedings of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, 1924-1933.

163 See A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, October 7, 1926; E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, October 11, 1926; E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, October 28, 1926; E. C. Brooks to A. W. McLean, December 3, 1926; A. W. McLean to E. C. Brooks, February 8, 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL).

education for adults as well as youth.[164] From 1929 to 1933 Brooks stumped the state in behalf of Governor Gardner's Live-At-Home Campaign and threw the full support of State College behind this movement to alleviate the acute economic distress of North Carolina farmers.[165] He also headed the Governor's Agricultural Advisory Committee; accompanied Gardner to several important meetings with federal officials; and served on the Committee of Five Hundred of the Southeastern Economic Council.[166] In 1931-1932 he was president of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers. His presidential address, entitled "How Shall Agriculture Survive the Depression," won wide acclaim and was published in several national publications.[167]

By 1928 Brooks began to feel the physical strain of his intensely active life. Early in January, 1928, he suffered "at-

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[164] See News and Observer, June 26, 1927.

[165] Public Papers and Letters of Governor Gardner, pp. 505-06; News and Observer, September 22, 1929; October 1, 1929; January 16, 1930; September 9, 12, 18, 1930; O. Max Gardner to E. C. Brooks, December 18, 1930; E. C. Brooks, "Adjusting Production to Farm and Home Need and Local Market Demands," (An Address), State College Papers; Brooks, "How To Make Permanent What Is Begun Under the Gardner Regime," (An Address), Brooks Papers (BLS); The National Grange Monthly (November, 1932), p. 4.

[166] Minutes of the Agricultural Advisory Committee, January 28, 1929, State College Papers; The Technician, February 9, 1929; Minutes of the Faculty Council, May 28, 1929; O. Max Gardner to E. C. Brooks, April 4, 1930; Hugh McRae to E. C. Brooks, January 15, 1932, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[167] Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, 1932, pp. 3-6; News and Observer, February 3, 1932.

tacks of dizziness" caused by hypotension. Shortly afterward he underwent a "rest cure" at a sanitarium in Battle Creek, Michigan. While hospitalized Brooks kept abreast with happenings in North Carolina and no sooner had he returned to the state than he again plunged into several activities with characteristic vigor. As a result, his former ailment returned with complications.[168] His physician in Raleigh prescribed small doses of whiskey which he consumed only with the greatest reluctance. His physician wrote: "Dr. Brooks is an introspective person. He drinks a certain amount of whiskey a day to stimulate himself to his work. This worries him because he feels that as president of State College he has no right to do this and preach prohibition to the students."[169] In 1931 Brooks suffered further attacks of vertigo and spent several days in Duke Hospital. His medical examination there revealed "marked" signs of arteriosclerosis in addition to hypotension and an "improved" diabetic condition.[170] For the next two years Brooks obviously did not get the amount of rest prescribed by his physicians, and even though he may have slowed down his pace, the cares and responsibilities of his office increased.

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[168] The Technician, January 21, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Charles Gold, March 7, 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL); Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 5/11/31, Duke Hospital.

[169] Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 5/11/31, Duke Hospital.

[170] Ibid.

The need for rest and diversion was the principal reason for a trip to Europe in 1928. Brooks accepted an invitation from the Agricultural Foundation of the International Potash Syndicate to join a group of American educators and agricultural specialists in an inspection tour of several European countries.[171] Brooks found time for bridge games and relaxation aboard ship, but otherwise the journey could scarcely have contributed much to the restoration of his health. He became the spokesman for the group and delivered addresses at various points in France, Germany, Holland, and England. The group concentrated its attention upon model farms and agricultural research centers in these countries. Brooks was particularly impressed by the scientific agriculture practiced in Germany, and the German agricultural schools furnished him ideas that he intended to utilize at State College. In fact, the whole tour including the Follies Bergere proved to thoroughly "enlightening" to him.[172]

Brooks made his second trip abroad in the summer of 1930 at the invitation of the government of Chile. The occasion was the centennial celebration of the opening of the Chilean nitrate mines. The invitation was extended to twenty-two outstanding

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171 News and Observer, August 27, 1928.

172 E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 8, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 12, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 14, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 21, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 31, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, August 4, 1928, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Americans whose visit would strengthen "the friendship between the United States and Chile through a better understanding of their industries, educational methods, and national policies."[173] The tour included brief visits in Cuba, Panama, and Peru before reaching the final destination. In Chile Brooks manifested especial interest in the social welfare and agricultural programs of President Ibanyez as well as the nitrate mines. He again acted as spokesman for his party and responded to numerous toasts and addresses of welcome.[174] On July 17, 1930, the University of Chile elected him an honorary member of the faculty. The following day at the Catholic University of Santiago Brooks delivered a formal address, entitled "Educating an Agricultural Class," which was published as a pamphlet and distributed among the students. The Catholic University conferred upon him a doctor's degree Honoris Causa.[175] After Brooks' departure, the United States ambassador to Chile, W. S. Culbertson, wrote him: "I assure you that your visit to Chile contributed very materially to the extension of good will between the two peoples.

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[173] News and Observer, June 2, 1930.

[174] E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 10, 1930; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 15, 1930; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 23, 1930, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[175] E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 21, 1930; E. C. Brooks to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, July 22, 1930, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL); News and Observer, August 24, 1930; E. C. Brooks, "Some Impressions of South America and the State College Men I Met," N. C. State Alumni News III (September, 1930), pp. 9-10, 22.

I only wish that all missions might be as successful as yours."[176]

VI

As president of State College Brooks went about his work with the same enthusiasm, energy, and tenacity of purpose that characterized his previous career. Only the crippling effect of continued ill health forced a slight change of pace in 1931. By that date Brooks had already accomplished his major task at State College. He had brought the institution into intimate relationship with the economic and social life of the state. The "art of living well at home" became in reality a guide for every aspect of the college program whether it concerned experiment station research or courses in sociology. In eleven years at State College Brooks broadened the curriculum, produced an efficient administrative organization, raised academic standards, and transformed the physical plant almost beyond recognition. In fact, he lifted the college from what some called a trade school status to a technological and professional institution of recognized standing. Whatever his shortcomings and mistakes may have been, they were outweighed by his constructive efforts in behalf of State College.

His remarkable achievements aroused interest and admiration

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176 W. S. Culbertson to E. C. Brooks, September 10, 1930, Brooks Papers (DUL).

in educational quarters outside North Carolina and brought him attractive offers to employ his talents elsewhere. The only offer that Brooks seriously considered was an invitation in 1925 to become Commissioner of Education in New Jersey.[177] During the next three years he declined invitations to accept the presidencies of Louisiana State University, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Alabama Polytechnic Institute. His "unfinished task" at State College was the principal reason for his rejection of these offers.[178] But just as Brooks completed this task, the legislature of 1931 passed an act merging State College, the University, and North Carolina College For Women into a greater University of North Carolina.

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[177] F. M. P. Pearse to E. C. Brooks, May 25, 1925; E. C. Brooks to F. M. P. Pearse, May 28, 1925; F. M. P. Pearse to E. C. Brooks, June 30, 1925; F. M. P. Pearse to E. C. Brooks, July 8, 1925, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[178] R. O. Young to E. C. Brooks, July 2, 1926; E. C. Brooks to R. O. Young, July 8, 1926; E. C. Brooks to R. O. Young, July 23, 1926; W. A. Milton to E. C. Brooks, May 5, 1928; Fred Drummond to E. C. Brooks, May 14, 1928; E. C. Brooks to Fred Drummond, May 22, 1928; H. V. Hanson to E. C. Brooks, February 9, 1928; E. C. Brooks to H. V. Hanson, March 2, 1928, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Chapter XII

UNIVERSITY CONSOLIDATION AND RETIREMENT

The idea of a consolidated University of North Carolina embracing the state-supported colleges at Chapel Hill, Greensboro, and Raleigh was by no means new in 1931. In fact, it had been advocated by various individuals for more than fifteen years.[1] One of the most persistent champions of a consolidated university was Josephus Daniels, who as a member of the Watauga Club was a founder of State College. In an address to the General Assembly in 1919 Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy, pleaded for a state university that would not only include the University at Chapel Hill, North Carolina College for Women, and State

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[1] E. S. Millsaps to O. Max Gardner, December 27, 1930, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); N. C. State Alumni News III (January, 1931), p. 101.

College, but the teachers' colleges in Boone and Greenville. His plan called for "one institution, one board of trustees, and one president" for the purpose of eliminating "duplication of effort" among the various state-supported institutions of higher learning.[2]

In 1922 Governor Cameron Morrison espoused a similar proposal that excluded the teachers' colleges. President Harry Chase of the University was staunchly opposed to the project and assured the Governor that "any joint board of control" for the three institutions would "be very dangerous in practice." "I know," Chase added, "that there is the matter of duplication which is practically confined to the work in engineering."[3] In view of Chase's opposition Morrison apparently decided to drop his plans for a consolidated university.

At the time of the Morrison proposal Brooks as State Superintendent of Public Instruction was an ex officio member of the board of trustees of the University. But there is no evidence that he entered the discussion on university consolidation. In 1923 when Brooks became president of State College, the question of duplicate curricula in the three state institutions was still provoking criticism in certain quarters. In June, 1923, Brooks confidentially expressed a desire to discuss the whole

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[2] News and Observer, February 14, 1919.

[3] Harry W. Chase to Cameron Morrison, March 27, 1922, Governors' Papers (Morrison).

problem with Chase and Julius I. Foust, president of North Carolina College for Women,[4] but apparently the three men never held the discussion. In the meantime Brooks reorganized State College placing strong emphasis upon the new School of Science and Business that not only provided basic "cultural" subjects but offered work in business administration and social sciences leading to the bachelor's degree. In the General Assembly of 1925 certain legislators charged that Brooks was attempting to "build a liberal arts college" to compete with the University. They also talked of a consolidated state university in order to erase duplications, but no such bill was introduced in the legislature.[5] However, on January 21, 1925, a joint committee from the University and State College, including Brooks, Chase, Clarence Poe, and Judge W. A. Townsend, presented a report of its investigation of curricular duplications in the two institutions. In short, the committee found no "real duplication resulting in an unnecessary expense." Not even the two engineering schools in Raleigh and Chapel Hill formed "unnecessary duplication."[6] With such assurances Brooks continued to strengthen his School of Science and Business, and in 1927 he organized a

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[4] E. C. Brooks to Harry Chase, June 19, 1923, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[5] Minutes of the Faculty Council, March 4, 14, 1925; David Lockmiller, The Consolidation of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1942), p. 9.

[6] Report of the Joint Committee on Duplication, January 21, 1925, State College Papers.

School of Education that was opened to women students.

In that year O. Max Gardner, an alumnus of both State College and the University who had been a trustee of the former institution since 1907, began to express apprehension about Brooks' educational program. He feared that State College was straying too far from its original purposes, especially in the School of Science and Business. He also felt that Brooks' expansion of courses in liberal arts and education had placed State College in a competitive race with the University. On several occasions he voiced grave concern about this problem to the college trustees.[7]

Gardner became Governor of North Carolina in 1929, and in the following year he was forced to consider drastic measures to meet the crisis precipitated by the Great Depression. Thus, he prepared a legislative program whose outstanding features included economy and "centralization of power."[8] He employed the Brookings Institution to conduct a survey of state government and to recommend changes "to promote increased efficiency and economy." The report of the survey group, presented to

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[7] Minutes of the Trustees, June 6, 1927; E. C. Brooks to B. F. Brown, June 27, 1929, State College Papers; Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, p. 12. Other persons connected with State College later came to believe that Brooks had long anticipated the establishment of a consolidated state university and had built a strong School of Science and Business to use as a "trading point" whenever consolidation materialized. But such observations seem to have had little basis in fact. Memorandum by Mr. W. L. Mayer, September 12, 1956.

[8] Papers and Letters of Governor Gardner, pp. xxviii, xxxv-vi.

Gardner on December 15, 1930, strongly suggested a merging of the University, North Carolina College for Women, and State College "into one large University of North Carolina." The report's indirect references to unnecessary duplications in the curricula of the schools at Raleigh and Chapel Hill apparently confirmed the Governor's worst fears.[9]

In any case, Governor Gardner began to consider seriously the question of a consolidated state university that would eliminate this duplication and produce economy in the long run. He discussed the project with Foust and Frank Graham who had succeeded Chase as president of the University in 1930. Foust was at first cool to the proposal and frankly told Gardner that the Brookings Institutions had overlooked "the fact that they are dealing with people and not material things." Aware that "the spirit of the age is along the line of mergers," he still insisted that Gardner could "accomplish everything" that he desired simply by requesting the heads of the three schools to cooperate in eliminating unnecessary and costly duplications in their curricula.[10] Within two months, however, Foust had completely reversed his position, probably because he realized that North Carolina College for Women would not be as seriously affected by the merger as the other two institutions. Moreover,

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[9] Report on a Survey of the Organization and Administration of the State Government of North Carolina, pp. vii, 171-73.

[10] J. I. Foust to O. Max Gardner, December 23, 1930, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

he apparently considered himself the logical choice for the presidency of a consolidated university.[11] Frank Graham supported Gardner's consolidation project only after assurances that "general education" would remain in all three institutions for the freshman and sophomore years; that duplicate curricula (not courses) in upper classes and professional and graduate schools would be eliminated; and that economy would mean "economy in the highest sense"--that money saved by erasing duplication would be spent to raise the standards of all three schools.[12] Apparently, Brooks alone among the presidents of the three institutions was not consulted by the Governor about consolidation.[13]

On December 24, 1930, Governor Gardner publicly announced his intention to recommend the establishment of a consolidated university to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. The Consolidation Bill was drafted by his special counsel, Judge N. A. Townsend, who had served on the joint committee on duplication in 1925.[14] Brooks was "never consulted about the merger

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[11] J. I. Foust to O. Max Gardner, February 4, 1931, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, p. 29; Durham Morning Herald, March 4, 1931. Foust reversed his position on consolidation again in 1932 about the time that it became known that Graham was to be elected president of the consolidated university. J. I. Foust to O. Max Gardner, September 27, 1932, No. 119, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

[12] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

[13] E. C. Brooks to David Clark, August 29, 1932, State College Papers.

[14] News and Observer, December 25, 1930; Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, pp. 24-5.

bill until after it was drawn," although Foust and Graham apparently assisted in its preparation in advisory capacities.[15] The measure was presented to the legislature on February 13, 1931 in a special message by the Governor.[16] The outstanding features of the bill included: changing the name of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering to North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina; the creation of one board of trustees for the consolidated university, consisting of 100 members chosen by the legislature; the appointment by the governor of a commission on University consolidation that would select "distinguished" experts to study the three institutions with a view toward recommending changes in organization and curricula; and the approval of the commission's recommendations by the consolidated board of trustees.[17] The economy supposedly envisioned by the Consolidation Bill was undoubtedly the most attractive feature for a large portion, if not a majority, of the legislators in 1931.[18] Certainly, Gardner

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[15] E. C. Brooks to David Clark, August 29, 1932, State College Papers.

[16] News and Observer, February 14, 1931.

[17] Proposed Bill to Be Entitled An Act to Consolidate the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, and North Carolina College for Women, State College Papers.

[18] Both at the time and later many individuals questioned the validity of the economy argument used in support of university consolidation. Lefler and Newsome (North Carolina, p. 555) wrote: "Ostensibly to save money and prevent overlapping educational functions, the General Assembly of 1931 ... merged the

and his cohorts employed shrewd political strategy in securing the passage of the bill.[19]

In the meantime Brooks had voiced strong objections to certain features of the Townsend measure. In fact, he would have been happier had the Consolidation Bill never been drafted at all. In the Gardner-Townsend plan, however, he saw passages that made him anxious about the future of State College. He fought every move to change the name of the institution and finally managed to retain "Agriculture and Engineering" as a part of its title--a significant accomplishment in view of the subsequent controversy over the location of the engineering school in the consolidated university.[20] Brooks was unsuccessful in securing changes in other sections of the bill in accordance with his own ideas. For example, he wanted to maintain three separate boards of trustees and establish a correlating body representing all three schools. He also insisted in vain that the recommendations of the consolidation commission be approved by each board of trustees rather than the consolidated board. The basic consideration underlying these proposals was his realization that the University alumni through their control of the

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State College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill into the Consolidated University of North Carolina." (Italics mine.)

[19] See Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, pp. 20-34.

[20] Ibid., p. 29.

legislature would dominate the consolidated board of trustees. Furthermore, Brooks was convinced that economy in terms of dollars and cents would not be achieved by merging the three institutions.[21] Despite his opposition, the Consolidation Bill was enacted into law on March 27, 1931, with E. C. Brooks, Jr., of Durham casting the only negative vote in the House of Representatives--a vote that undoubtedly reflected his father's attitude.[22]

After the passage of the law Brooks decided to make the best of what he considered an unfortunate situation, but the students, alumni, and certain trustees of State College refused to follow his example. They generally looked upon consolidation as a nefarious plot by a "few" University alumni to strengthen their own alma mater at the expense of State College. They flatly denied that any economy would result from the measure and insisted that the elimination of duplicate curricula could be more easily achieved without consolidation. The Mecklenburg Chapter of the State College alumni, led by David Clark and Malcomb Hunter, went on record as "unanimously and unalterably opposed to con-

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[21] E. C. Brooks, "Amendments Memo--Consolidation Bill," State College Papers; Durham Morning Herald, March 4, 1931; News and Observer, March 4, 1931. At this juncture Clarence Poe, a State College trustee, adopted a position quite similar to the one expressed by Brooks. See Clarence Poe to O. Max Gardner, February 23, 1931, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

[22] Interviews with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956, and Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

solidation,"[23] a position that was undoubtedly shared by a majority of their fellow alumni. The Alumni News claimed that the legislators had been "caught flat-footed" by the report of the Brookings Institution and concluded: "O Economy, Economy, we hope no sins will be committed in thy name."[24] The campus newspaper, The Technician, criticized Brooks for his failure to speak out vehemently against consolidation which it considered a move "by the University to keep from being outstripped" by Duke University.[25] At their annual meeting in June, 1931, the State College alumni voiced strong protests against the merger and quietly planned their strategy for securing the repeal of the act by the next legislature. Several prominent alumni believed that if State College traded its School of Science and Business and Graduate School for the engineering school at Chapel Hill, the legislators would see that the major duplications had been removed and would therefore repeal the Consolidation Act in 1933.[26] Although their strategy failed, these alumni at least

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[23] Watson Powell to O. Max Gardner, February 27, 1931, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

[24] N. C. State Alumni News III (April, 1931), p. 150.

[25] The Technician, March 13, 1931. The view that university consolidation was precipitated by a "fear" of Duke University, the former Trinity College in Durham, was apparently rather common among State College alumni. Others believed that it was used as a propaganda weapon to persuade the University alumni to support consolidation. News and Observer, June 9, 1931; Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[26] News and Observer, June 9, 1931; J. W. Harrelson to S. B. Alexander, June 23, 1931, State College Papers.

realized that the location of the engineering school in the consolidated university would pose a difficult problem.

Despite his opposition to consolidation, Brooks neither led a movement against it nor lent himself to the various resistence groups formed by the alumni.[27] He was extremely cautious in both his public and private statements about the establishment of a consolidated university. He was so discreet, in fact, that his close associates at State College sometimes disagreed regarding his attitude toward consolidation. One believed that he was "absolutely neutral," while another declared: "My impression was that Mr. Brooks did not like the idea of consilidation, but I never heard him say so."[28] Brooks felt that a strong negative attitude would only further jeopardize State College. He was convinced that the Consolidation Act would not be repealed and feared that continued outbursts by alumni and certain trustees would cripple his efforts to maintain the integrity of State College and prevent the emasculation of its curriculum. Thus, by tempering their bitterness he sought to remove what he considered a major obstacle to the welfare of the college during the process of consolidation.[29]

On July 16, 1931, the Commission on University Consolidation

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[27] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

[28] Memorandum by Mr. W. L. Mayer, September 12, 1956; Memorandum by Mr. E. F. Brown, October 1, 1956.

[29] Interviews with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956 and Mr. A. S. Brower, October 2, 1956.

held its first meeting in the Governor's office. The commission consisted of thirteen members with Governor Gardner as chairman and Fred Morrison as secretary. Brooks, Riddick, and S. B. Alexander represented State College, while Foust, Graham, and four of their associates represented North Carolina College for Women and the University. Under the law the commission was to present a plan for the executive control and coordinated educational program of the consolidated university to the board of trustees by July 1, 1932. This plan was to be based on the findings of a survey of the three institutions conducted by prominent educational "experts." The commission was given $12,900 to finance this survey. Brooks was appointed to a subcommittee of four to select the survey group.[30] Dr. Fred J. Kelly, specialist in higher education in the Office of Education, consented to aid the commission in an advisory capacity and in the selection of a survey team. Dr. George Works of the University of Chicago was chosen as director of the survey, and he in turn selected Dr. Frank McVey of the University of Kentucky and Dr. Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota as his associates. In addition, a host of "experts" investigated various phases of the curricula of the three institutions.[31]

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[30] Minutes of the Commission on University Consolidation, July 16, 1931; Fred Morrison to H. C. Brooks, July 22, 1931, State College Papers. The other members of the Commission on University Consolidation were Louis R. Wilson, W. A. Townsend, B. B. Kendrick, F. L. Jackson, Mrs. E. L. McKee, and Miss Dasdale Shaw.

[31] Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, pp. 40-43.

From October, 1931 to May, 1932, Brooks spent considerable time in conference with these specialists and in other work relating to the affairs of the consolidation commission.[32]

In May, 1932, the survey team distributed its findings to the members of the commission. This report included recommendations on administrative organization, allocation of functions, teacher-training, engineering and industry, and commerce and business education. The most sweeping recommendation was the proposal to transfer State College to Chapel Hill or reduce it to a junior college offering only "general education." Other sections of the survey report suggested: one chief executive of the consolidated university with an administrative head in each of the three units; an Administrative Council representing all three units; one comptroller, one director of extension, one director of graduate work, and one director of summer school for the consolidated university; and the dissolution of the School of Science and Business at State College. The report also strongly favored centering all engineering education at Chapel Hill. Finally, the survey group declared that it had "not been able to point to any large financial economies that could be affected immediately," but consolidation would "make for increased efficiency in the state's program of higher edu-

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32 Minutes of the Faculty Council, October 12, 1931; George Works to H. C. Brooks, January 2, 1932; J. I. Foust to H. C. Brooks, January 22, 1932, State College Papers.

cation."[33]

Brooks was "greatly disturbed" by the report which merely confirmed all his anxieties for the future of State College. The structure that he had so painstakingly built during the previous decade seemed to be crumbling all round him. The proposed dissolution of the School of Science and Business was especially distasteful to him. Brooks believed that any suggestion to move State College to Chapel Hill was not only ridiculous, but impossible under the law. In fact, he took a dim view of all the major recommendations of the survey team and hoped that the whole report would be shelved.[34] Governor Gardner also had misgivings about portions of the report,[35] and needless to say, the State College alumni and trustees were near open rebellion. Brooks persuaded Gardner to speak to the General Alumni Association early in June, 1932, regarding consolidation.[36] The Governor opened his address by declaring: "Despite reports to the contrary, State College will always remain North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering,

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[33] Report of the Commission on University Consolidation (Raleigh, 1932), pp. 6-7, 11-90. Cf. Report to the North Carolina Commission on University Consolidation, State College Papers.

[34] The President's Report, 1931-32; E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, May 30, 1932; E. C. Brooks to Mark Squires, May 23, 1932, State College Papers.

[35] O. Max Gardner to E. C. Brooks, May 24, 1932, State College Papers.

[36] E. C. Brooks to O. Max Gardner, April 25, 1932, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

and will always be located at Raleigh if I have any influence left, and ---." At this point a storm of applause drowned out his words, and according to one observer, "he need not have said another word."[37] Brooks then assured the alumni that several of the more drastic recommendations by the survey group were not legal under the Consolidation Act.[38] The statements by Gardner and Brooks temporarily relieved the fears of the alumni.

Several days later, on June 13-14, 1932, the full Commission on University Consolidation considered the report presented by Dr. Works and his assistants. The proposal to transfer State College to Chapel Hill was promptly rejected. The commission delayed action on the location of the engineering school, but approved almost all other recommendations of the survey team.[39] However, Brooks and Foust argued that the executive control of the consolidated university should be placed in the hands of the presidents of the three institutions. Despite their protests, the commission voted for a single executive to be selected by the consolidated board of trustees.[40] The recommendations of the commission were filed with the new board of trustees on

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[37] N. C. State Alumni News IV (June, 1932), pp. 131-32.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Minutes of the Commission on University Consolidation, June 13-14, 1932, State College Papers.

[40] Ibid.

June 30, 1932, and accepted with few changes.[41] Brooks, Foust, and Graham formed a Presidential Directorate that performed the executive functions of the consolidated university until the trustees selected a president.[42]

The recommendations of the Commission on University Consolidation renewed all the fears of the State College alumni. A majority of them apparently believed that although their alma mater would remain in Raleigh, the most attractive and popular features of its curricula would be gradually "absorbed" by the Chapel Hill unit. By this time the University alumni had become skeptical of the consolidation program,[43] and their president promised to join the State College alumni in blocking any further efforts toward merging the three institutions until the legislature could reconsider the Consolidation Act. For some reason he completely reversed his position within a few days.[44]

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[41] Among the changes made by the board of trustees was the substitution of "president" for "chancellor" as the title of the chief executive of the consolidated university. The heads of the three units were to be called "vice-presidents" rather than "presidents." News and Observer, July 12, 1932.

[42] Minutes of the Commission on University Consolidation, June 13-14, 1932, State College Papers.

[43] News and Observer, July 8, 1932; S. B. Alexander to O. Max Gardner, August 2, 1932, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); David Clark to E. C. Brooks, July 26, 1932; J. L. Becton to E. C. Brooks, July 2, 1932, State College Papers.

[44] Kemp P. Lewis to S. B. Alexander, June 22, 1932; Kemp P. Lewis to E. C. Brooks, June 22, 1932; S. B. Alexander to E. C. Brooks, June 23, 1932; Kemp P. Lewis to E. C. Brooks, July 5, 1932, State College Papers.

Nevertheless, the State College alumni, led by the so-called "Charlotte group," decided to make a "showdown" fight which proved to be almost wholly ineffective.[45] The Technician described their disorganized opposition as mere "blind protests" that "contributed little toward the solution of a very real problem."[46] It might have added that if the alumni had done nothing else, they had aroused the ire of Governor Gardner. He deplored their efforts "to create the impression that there is some monstrous force ... trying to crush State College" and declared that the college had "never occupied in the legislative mind the same degree of power or prestige or position as has the University." But through consolidation, he concluded, the Chapel Hill unit would "no longer have any advantage in the legislative program."[47]

On July 22, 1932, Brooks issued his first public statement on consolidation since the passage of the act in the previous year. In an address to the summer school students he insisted that State College would be "the technological branch of the Consolidated University" located in Raleigh. According to him, the policy of the consolidated board of trustees was "to develop

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[45] S. B. Alexander to O. Max Gardner, August 2, 1932, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Malcomb Hunter, Facts About the Consolidation of the University of North Carolina, N. C. State College, and N. C. College For Women (A Pamphlet).

[46] The Technician, October 28, 1932.

[47] O. Max Gardner to S. B. Alexander, August 3, 1932, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner).

three coordinate institutions under one administration for the purpose of eliminating needless duplication and promoting educational advantages more economically."[48] Brooks considered this statement "necessary on account of the faculty and alumni" who looked to him to guide State College "safely" through consolidation.[49] He consistently maintained that according to the law there should be "three coordinate institutions" on equal footing and sought to impress this idea upon a board of trustees containing approximately sixty University alumni. He urged the board to adopt a policy that would maintain the integrity of each institution or, in any case, to establish a "definite policy to guide the administration of the new university."[50]

In spite of his reassuring statements, Brooks was far from happy. He was accustomed to long-term planning, but the uncertainties produced by consolidation forced him to work on a day-to-day basis. The fluctuating state of affairs caused him no little worry and placed an additional strain upon his weakened physical constitution.[51]

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[48] E. C. Brooks, "The Effect of Consolidation on North Carolina State College, July 22, 1932," State College Papers; News and Observer, July 23, 1932.

[49] E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, July 21, 1932, State College Papers.

[50] E. C. Brooks, "The Need of Defining a Policy to Guide the Administration of the New University, September 28, 1932," State College Papers.

[51] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956, and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

On November 14, 1932, the board of trustees took a major step toward stabilizing the consolidation program by establishing the executive control of the university. Frank Graham was elevated to the presidency of the consolidated university against his wishes, while Brooks and Foust became vice-presidents in charge of the Raleigh and Greensboro units, respectively.[52] In his association with Graham in the Presidential Directorate Brooks had come to appreciate his "ability and sense of fairness."[53] The relationship between the two men was "always cordial," and they worked together harmoniously for the next two years.[54] They cooperated fully in initiating a thorough study of State College by several faculty committees in order to assist in carrying out the recommendations of the Commission on University Consolidation. Graham never issued "executive orders" to Brooks and Foust, but conferred with them in person on all important matters.[55]

Brooks, however, still faced perplexing, sometimes disagree-

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[52] Frank Graham to the Executive Committee of the Trustees, November 2, 1932, No. 119, Governors' Papers (Gardner); Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, pp. 55-6. The vice-president of the Chapel Hill unit was not selected until 1934 when Robert B. House became Dean of Administration--the new title given to the heads of the individual units.

[53] See E. C. Brooks to J. I. Foust, October 5, 1932; E. C. Brooks to Frank Graham, November 15, 1932, State College Papers.

[54] Interview with Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[55] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

able, problems in shifting State College into its new status. Undoubtedly, one of his most distasteful tasks was the dissolution of his favorite project, the School of Science and Business. Although the college was to retain the fundamental courses in "general education," all business administration was to be transferred to Chapel Hill. Brooks insisted upon keeping certain courses in management and the "business side" of engineering and textile manufacturing at State College.[56] He therefore persuaded the trustees to create a department of industry under Professor Theodore Johnson in the Textile School in order to absorb part of the curriculum of the School of Science and Business.[57] By this device he salvaged at least a few remnants of the school in which he had always manifested an especial pride.

Perhaps the most difficult and controversial problem confronting Brooks was the location of the engineering school in the consolidated university.[58] Although the survey group considered the engineering school at Chapel Hill far superior to the one at Raleigh,[59] Brooks insisted that State College as the techno-

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[56] E. C. Brooks to F. R. Johnson, June 23, 1932; E. C. Brooks to W. A. Wickenden, June 23, 1932; E. C. Brooks to S. B. Alexander, December 8, 1932, State College Papers.

[57] Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Consolidated Board of Trustees, No. 119, Governors' Papers (Gardner); E. C. Brooks to S. B. Alexander, December 8, 1932, State College Papers; News and Observer, October 9, 11, 1932.

[58] The long, tedious battle over the location of the engineering school is adequately covered in Lockmiller, Consolidation of the University, pp. 60-83.

[59] Report to the North Carolina Commission on University Consolidation, State College Papers.

logical branch of the university should possess all work in engineering.[60] He had sought to remove any doubt about the location of the engineering school in 1931 by retaining "Engineering" as part of the title of State College.[61] Nevertheless, the controversy regarding this problem gained momentum in the fall of 1932. The students and alumni of State College envisioned another attempt by the University "lawyers" to transfer one of the most attractive curricula of their alma mater to Chapel Hill. They felt that since the Chapel Hill unit had already profited by the abolition of their School of Science and Business, it should be willing to sacrifice its engineering school.[62] So loud were their complaints that the board of trustees assured them on November 14, 1932, that "there is no intention ... to discontinue the schools of engineering at Chapel Hill or Raleigh."[63] This resolution, apparently condoning the existence of the major duplicate curricula in the two colleges, completely failed to pacify the State College alumni, and the bitterness of the controversy continued to mount.[64] Throughout

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60 News and Observer, July 22, 1932; E. C. Brooks to W. D. Faucette, August 23, 1932; David Clark to E. C. Brooks, February 14, 1933, State College Papers; Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

61 See above p. 6.

62 The Technician, October 28, 1932; N. C. State Alumni News V (November, 1932), pp. 23, 30; Lockmiller, History of N. C. State College, p. 199.

63 N. C. State Alumni News V (December, 1932), p. 37.

64 See E. B. Hunter to O. Max Gardner, November 13, 1932, J-111, Governors' Papers (Gardner); R. R. Eagle to Josephus

the spring of 1933 the trustees continually postponed action on the engineering schools, thereby precipitating additional anxieties among the friends of State College. In June, 1933, the new governor, J. C. B. Ehringhaus, attempted to mitigate their fears by assuring them that "State College will not become the red-headed stepchild of the consolidation."[65]

In the meantime Brooks persisted in his efforts to have all engineering concentrated at State College. He was fully aware that in the final analysis President Graham and the University alumni who dominated the board of trustees would determine the location of the engineering school.[66] For this reason he preferred to fight for the State College site without the aid of such belligerent alumni as David Clark who had already antagonized the friends of the Chapel Hill unit.[67] The next three years proved the wisdom of his tactics, for in 1936 after a hard-fought contest President Graham persuaded the trustees to place all engineering curricula at State College.[68]

The perplexities of university consolidation coupled with

Daniels, January 4, 1933; David Clark to E. C. Brooks, March 1, 1933; R. R. Eagle to E. C. Brooks, April 29, 1933; Jonathan Daniels to R. R. Eagle, April 15, 1933, State College Papers.

[65] News and Observer, June 13, 1933.

[66] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

[67] See David Clark to E. C. Brooks, February 14, 1933, State College Papers.

[68] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

other difficult problems that Brooks encountered at State College placed a severe strain upon his failing health. He was continually apprehensive about the future of the college under consolidation and felt that his work was restricted on all sides by a board of trustees whose actions he was unable to anticipate. Since his days at Kernersville Academy, Brooks had formulated the policies and his trustees had adopted them. Certainly, for nine years the State College trustees had consistently followed his recommendations.[69] But Brooks lost his cherished independence in the consolidated university and did not adjust to the new circumstances without difficulty. He was disturbed by various decisions that he considered detrimental to the welfare of State College and by his own inability to change or compensate for them. These worries caused him many sleepless nights and soon produced noticeable effects upon his physical strength. For this reason his wife urged him to leave State College and accept an offer by President William P. Few to become lecturer in education in Duke University. He rejected this idea because the friends of State College looked to him to guide the institution safely through consolidation. Moreover, he felt that his resignation would be interpreted as an easy escape from a difficult situation and as evidence of his unwillingness to occupy a subordinate position in the consolidated university. Thus,

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[69] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956, and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

he remained at State College even though he recognized that the burdens of the office were detrimental to his health.[70]

On November 18, 1933, Brooks became ill in Washington while returning home from a meeting of the Association of Land Grant Colleges in Chicago. He suffered a severe attack of arterial thrombosis that paralyzed the right side of his body. He was too ill to be moved from his room in Hotel Raleigh to a hospital. His family rushed to Washington immediately and were joined shortly afterward by President Graham and Professors W. C. Riddick and Theodore Johnson of State College. Graham assisted the family in securing the services of Dr. Sterling Ruffin, former physician to Woodrow Wilson. For days Brooks' life hung in an uneasy balance and those attending him feared for the worst.[71] Then, he began to rally and by late November was "thinking of the things he meant to do."[72] Dr. Ruffin, however, confided to Graham that Brooks could probably live many years if he were relieved of his executive duties at State College--information that Graham kept strictly confidential.[73]

In February, 1934 Brooks returned to his office at the college

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[70] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, May 9, June 19, 1956, and Mr. E. C. Brooks, Jr., July 12, 1956.

[71] The Technician, November 24, 1933; News and Observer, November 21, 1933; Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

[72] Mrs. E. C. Brooks to W. P. Few, November, 1933, Few Papers. While Brooks was ill, the News and Observer (November 25, 1933) printed an article on the progress of university consolidation under the following bizarre title: "Education Units Becoming As One: Death of Cobb, Illness of Brooks, and Visits of Graham Tighten Ties."

[73] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

for the first time in three months. He appeard "much thinner" and leaned heavily upon a cane.[74] As late as April he was still unable to use his right hand even for signing his correspondence.[75] In his absence Graham had carried on the executive work at the college, although he had been authorized by the trustees in January, 1934, to select a "dean of administration" to serve during Brooks' illness.[76] Throughout the spring of 1934 Brooks was barely strong enough to attend to the routine duties of his office. Nevertheless, he was continually planning the reorganization of the Textile School that he had already begun and gave no indication of any intention to resign his post.[77] Late in the spring he did request the board of trustees to grant him a "leave of absence" in order to regain his physical strength.[78] Brooks was still unwilling to concede that his days of intense activity were over; he looked to the future with the same optimism that had characterized his past.[79]

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74 N. C. State Alumni News V (February, 1934), p. 69.

75 E. C. Brooks to Francis D. Winston, April 5, 1934, Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (DUL).

76 News and Observer, November 25, 1933; The Technician, February 2, 23, 1934.

77 Minutes of the General Faculty, May 12, 1934; E. C. Brooks to Frederick Felker, March 8, 1934; E. C. Brooks to A. M. Dixon, May 5, 1934, State College Papers.

78 E. C. Brooks to A. C. Lewis, June 27, 1934; E. C. Brooks to W. D. Faucette, June 27, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

79 E. C. Brooks to I. O. Schaub, June 9, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

In the meantime the board of trustees had decided to retire both Brooks and Foust who had also suffered a stroke of paralysis. Graham was not responsible for this action nor had he divulged Dr. Ruffin's advice regarding Brooks to the board of trustees.[80] But he was assigned the delicate task of notifying Brooks and Foust of the trustees' decision. Rather than going directly to Brooks, Graham persuaded Brooks' physician to break the news to him. Unfortunately, the physician made the blunder of saying that Graham had requested him to inform Brooks of his retirement.[81] This faux pas quite naturally created an awkward situation between Graham and Brooks; but whatever bitterness Brooks may have entertained was soon replaced by a "feeling of relief and satisfaction."[82] Certainly, he harbored no enmity toward Graham. On June 8, 1934, he wrote George W. Connor: "I feel quite sure that the right move has been made and that I ought to have quit before now. I think perhaps I would not have had the stroke in Washington if I had been relieved of the strain that I have been carrying."[83] Brooks became President

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[80] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956. Oddly enough, on January 10, 1934, Dr. Sterling Ruffin wrote Mrs. Brooks that her husband should "be able to carry on his great work if only he will realize that he must adopt a slower schedule and will strictly respect his limitations." Dr. Sterling Ruffin to Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 10, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[81] Interview with Dr. Frank Graham, December 21, 1956.

[82] E. C. Brooks to F. H. Perry, June 8, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[83] E. C. Brooks to George W. Connor, June 8, 1934, Brooks Papers (DUL).

Emeritus of State College and Research Professor of Education with an annual stipend of $4000. Graham "saw to it" that he always had an office at the college.[84] Under the new policy of the consolidated university his successor, John W. Harrelson, held the title of Dean of Administration.[85]

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In 1934 Brooks began his retirement with a long vacation in the mountains of North Carolina. Mrs. Brooks, of course, was constantly at his side in order to make sure that he obeyed the doctor's orders. His health gradually improved, but he had to avoid all strenuous activities. Though his physical handicaps proved to be permanent, Brooks maintained his mental alertness and keen sense of humor. His vacation at the mountain resorts provided him an opportunity to employ his talents as a reconteur, a role that had won him wide popularity as toastmaster. So enjoyable was the stay in the mountains in 1934 that Brooks and his wife returned to the Boone-Blowing Rock area during several succeeding summers. They sometimes visited their three children all of whom had married and established homes of their own. On their return to Raleigh in the fall of

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[84] Memorandum by Mrs. B. C. Brooks, January 24, 1957; Brief Report Covering the College Activities, 1933-34, State College Papers.

[85] On April 1, 1929, the otherwise ridiculous April Fool's issue of the Technician predicted that Harrelson would become Brooks' successor.

1934 they stopped in Greensboro for a visit with their oldest child, Martha Eleanor, then Mrs. Travis Callum. Their departure was delayed by a minor accident in which Brooks sprained his ankle. Mrs. Callum's neighbors jokingly accused her of being responsible for the mishap in order to keep the "good company" of her father who had already charmed them with his engaging conversation.[86]

Upon their return to Raleigh Brooks and his wife decided to move to the Sir Walter Hotel rather than to their own home on North Blount Street. This decision was undoubtedly prompted by Brooks' desire to remain in close touch with individuals conducting the affairs of North Carolina. In any case, he was frequently visited by state officials, members of the General Assembly, and former students and associates during his eight years at the Sir Walter. One of his favorite pastimes was talking to friends in the lobby of the hotel where "he always had a crowd around him."[87] In describing Brooks one observer declared: "There are few who enjoy a greater personality than he enjoys. It is a popularity which is well merited. From the standpoint of cordiality, friendliness, and courtesy, you'll

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[86] Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 25, 1957, and Mrs. Travis Callum, January 25, 1957. All three Brooks children married during the 1920's: Martha Eleanor to Travis Callum on June 6, 1925; Eugene Clyde, Jr., to Mary Ruth White on June 11, 1928; and Sarah Voss to Edwin Pullem, Jr., on November 9, 1929. Brooks Family Bible.

[87] Memorandum by Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 24, 1957.

have to travel a long way to find anybody who can surpass the old doctor."[88] Certainly, his facile conversation and ready wit still fascinated those who heard him. One day late in the spring of 1937 a friend jokingly remarked to Brooks: "I see you have lost a finger on your left hand." Brooks raised his hand and looked at it carefully as if he were surprised to find the appendage missing. "Well, bless my soul," he declared, "so I have." Then, he proceeded to tell in his inimitable way the story of severing his little finger with a hatchet when he was four years old.[89]

Brooks, however, was not sought after solely because of his entertaining conversation and extensive repertoire of humorous stories. Many friends and former colleagues came to him for advice on a wide variety of questions.[90] One of his closest associates later declared that "he continued to offer his wise counsel to those who sought it."[91] Brooks was still able to participate in the activities of the Watauga Club and his "wise counsel" undoubtedly proved to be valuable to members of the

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[88] "Dr. E. C. Brooks," The State (June 19, 1937), p. 30.

[89] Ibid., p. 20.

[90] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 25, 1957. For example, see James K. McClure to E. C. Brooks, December 8, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

[91] Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Fifth President of State College," (An Address, 1951).

club who were directing the affairs of the state.[92] Moreover, in 1936 he became a consultant to the Educational Policies Commission, a body established by the National Education Association primarily for outlining an educational program adapted to "social needs."[93] He also served various other organizations in an advisory capacity.[94]

The nature of Brooks' ailment forced him to spend a large part of his time in restful seclusion. Nevertheless, he managed to keep himself well informed about national and state affairs through listening to the radio and reading extensively in current literature.[95] He became an ardent admirer of President Franklin Roosevelt and followed the course of his administration with enthusiasm. Brooks, of course, was primarily interested in events in North Carolina especially the educational and economic developments. He was able to watch the public schools that he had reorganized in 1919 expand their enrollment, terms, facilities, and corps of qualified teachers

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92 See Clarence Poe to E. C. Brooks, March 2, 1938; Clarence Poe to E. C. Brooks, December 2, 1941; E. C. Brooks to Clarence Poe, January 14, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

93 A. J. Stoddard to E. C. Brooks, February 13, 1936; E. C. Brooks to A. J. Stoddard, February 21, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

94 E. C. Brooks to Ben L. Smith, February 14, 1936, Brooks Papers (DUL).

95 Interviews with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956, January 25, 1957; Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 7/12/38, Duke Hospital.

until the annual operating expense of the school system reached the sum of $72,655,102 in 1947. The Brooks School Code still remained the basic law for public education.[96]

Quite naturally, Brooks maintained a keen interest in the affairs of State College and regretted that his physical condition prevented him from spending much time in his campus office. J. W. Harrelson, his friend and successor at the helm of State College, respected his judgment and undoubtedly found his advice valuable.[97] In 1935 Brooks wrote President Graham: "I wish to congratulate you particularly because of the statesmanlike way in which you have handled the consolidation problems. I do not think as I look back across the years that they could have been handled better ... It is needless for me to tell you that we at State College are pleased."[98] Brooks, therefore, came to believe that Graham would prevent the emasculation of the State College curricula in the process of university consolidation. His conviction was strengthened by the decison in 1936 to concentrate all engineering work of the consolidated university in the Raleigh unit. On his seventy-fifth birthday in 1946 Brooks declared: "I rejoice that one of my big dreams has come true:

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[96] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 25, 1957; Brower, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Fifth President of State College," (An Address, 1951).

[97] Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 25, 1957.

[98] E. C. Brooks to Frank P. Graham, June 12, 1935, Brooks Papers (UL).

State College now ranks among the best land grant colleges in the nation."[99]

Upon his retirement in 1934 Brooks began work on the history of North Carolina that he had wanted to write since his days as principal of the Kinston Graded School. He collected a large quantity of material on the subject, particularly from newspapers and periodicals. His notes also indicate that he used many pertinent primary sources such as the Colonial Records and State Records. Despite continued ill health and a clumsy right hand, Brooks managed to write in longhand a large portion of the work that he entitled: "North Carolina: A History of Government, Agriculture, Industry and Education." His manuscript contains a rather complete account of the history of North Carolina during the period from 1790 to 1860, but the remaining chapters are little more than sketches. Unfortunately, Brooks did not complete the work or revise those sections that he had written.[100] He recognized that the research and writing of a sound historical work placed too much strain upon him. Thus, he abandoned the project and began to prepare his autobiography which he called "The Education of A North Carolinian."[101] Through this account he intended to relate certain aspects of North Carolina history

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99 News and Observer, December 4, 1946.

100 Both the manuscript and the voluminous notes for Brooks' history of North Carolina are in the Brooks Papers in the possession of Mr. B. L. Smith of Greensboro, North Carolina.

101 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

that he had observed at first hand. The autobiography, like his state history, was never completed and, in fact, covered only the period of his youth in Lenoir County.[102]

His failure to finish these works suggest the gradual weakening of his physical strength. Brooks still suffered attacks of vertigo, but according to his wife, he was "always the perfect patient."[103] In 1938 his physician described him as "an obese jolly gentleman ... in acute distress" and as "an old man for sixty-six years of age."[104] In 1942 Brooks and his wife decided to move to their own house, probably because the bustling activity in the hotel was no longer conducive to his comfort and welfare. At any rate, he spent the last five years of his life in the large white house near the Governor's Mansion that he had purchased while State Superintendent of Public Instruction. During this period there was little visible change in his health until the first week in October, 1947, when he became critically ill. His physician found that his illness was caused by an old ailment, diabetes, which by this time had produced irreparable physical damage.[105] After a two week struggle, Brooks died quietly on October 18, 1947, within three months of his

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102 See Brooks, "The Education of A North Carolinian," Brooks Papers (BLS).

103 Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

104 Medical Record of Dr. E. C. Brooks, Hist. No. 5162, 7/12/38, Duke Hospital.

105 Memorandum by Mrs. E. C. Brooks, January 24, 1957; Interview with Mrs. E. C. Brooks, June 19, 1956.

seventy-sixth birthday and was appropriately buried in Maplewood Cemetary in Durham--the town in which he had spent the happiest period of his life.[106]

In spite of Brooks' retirement for thirteen years, his services to North Carolina during more than three decades had not been forgotten. Citizens throughout the state mourned his death, and the press attempted to do justice to his contribution. The Winston-Salem Journal, expressing the sentiment of numerous newspapers, declared:

> The death of Dr. Brooks marks the passing of another of those intellectual and moral giants of the Aycock-McIver era who made possible the progress of educational and social enlightenment in this commonwealth which has pushed North Carolina into the national limelight as the most progressive state in the South. North Carolina owes more to him than it can know.[107]

In 1948, the year after his death, the North Carolina Education Association placed the name of Eugene Clyde Brooks in the Educational Hall of Fame over the citation, "inspiring teacher, masterful speaker, intrepid leader."[108] Three years later, at

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[106] News and Observer, October 19, 1947.

[107] Winston-Salem Journal, October 21, 1947. See also New York Times, October 20, 1947; Charlotte Observer, October 21, 1947; Greensboro Daily News, October 20, 1947; Durham Morning Herald, October 20, 1947.

[108] Citation of Dr. Eugene Clyde Brooks to the North Carolina Educational Hall of Fame. (Mimeographed Copy in the Possession of Mr. B. L. Smith). In 1937 the class of 1916 of Trinity College presented a portrait of Brooks painted by Irene Price to Duke University. In 1951 a posthumous portrait of him was presented to State College by his family.

the dedication of the Eugene Clyde Brooks School in Greensboro, City Superintendent B. L. Smith perhaps best described the personal qualities underlying the educational and political achievements of his former college professor when he remarked: "Dr. Brooks was endowed with extraordinary native ability, enquiring mind, great energy, indefatigable effort, a keen sense of humor, 'the gift of people,' and a far vision. He was a born leader. Through his inspiration you caught his enthusiasm, his devotion to a cause, and were challenged with his sense of mission."[109]

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[109] B. L. Smith, "Eugene Clyde Brooks," (An Address, November 14, 1951), Scrapbook II, Brooks Papers (LOL).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A biography of Eugene Clyde Brooks must necessarily incorporate large segments of the history of North Carolina between 1871 and 1947. Certainly, Brooks played an increasingly significant role in the political, economic, and social life of North Carolina during the first three decades of the twentieth century, an era in which the state underwent a veritable revolution. Oddly enough, there are few historical studies devoted to the period and even fewer full-length biographies of individuals who figured prominently in this transformation. Several multi-volume histories of North Carolina, especially those by R. D. W. Connor and Hugh Lefler, provide useful, general information about the period.[1] The best single-volume history of the state is

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[1] See S. A. Ashe, History of North Carolina 2 vols. (Greensboro, 1908-1925); R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925 2 vols. (Chicago, 1928-29); R.D.W. Connor, W. K. Boyd, and J. C. deR. Hamilton, History of North

North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, 1954) by Albert Newsome and Hugh Lefler. In addition, Samuel Hobbs' North Carolina: Economic and Social (Chapel Hill, 1930) presents a general account of contemporary social and economic problems, and Paul Wager's County Government and Administration in North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1928) is especially helpful for its review of local government since Reconstruction. Two other works, Robert Rankin's Government and Administration in North Carolina (New York, 1955) and a collection of essays entitled State Centralization in North Carolina (Washington, 1932) and edited by Paul Betters, indicate the expansion and changes in state government since 1900.

A thorough historical study of public education in North Carolina that included the twentieth century would have been particularly useful in writing the life of Eugene Brooks. Unfortunately, the only work of this kind, Edgar Knight's Public School Education in North Carolina (Boston, 1916), does not cover the period after 1915.[2] However, several studies treat limited as-

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Carolina 3 vols. (Chicago, 1919); Archibald Henderson, North Carolina: The Old North State and the New 2 vols. (Chicago, 1941); Hugh Lefler, History of North Carolina 2 vols. (New York, 1956).

[2] Three works dealing with public education in North Carolina during the nineteenth century are: Charles L. Smith, The History of Education in North Carolina (Washington, 1888); M. C. S. Noble, A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1930); Daniel Whitener, "Public Education in North Carolina During Reconstruction, 1865-1876," Essays in Southern History Edited by Fletcher M. Green. (Chapel Hill, 1949). Another useful study is Luther Gobbel, Church-State Relationships in North Carolina Since 1776 (Durham, 1938).

pects of education in North Carolina during the twentieth century, especially Fred Morrison's Equalization of the Financial Burden of Education Among Counties in North Carolina (New York, 1925) and Charles L. Coon's "School Support and Our North Carolina Courts, 1868-1926," North Carolina Historical Review III (July, 1926). The biographical sketches of such educational leaders as Charles B. Aycock, Charles D. McIver, James Y. Joyner, and Robert Wright are largely uncritical accounts written by friends or associates and must consequently be utilized with discretion. The career of James Y. Joyner as State Superintendent of Public Instruction has been the subject of two discerning essays, namely, Elmer Johnson's "James Yadkin Joyner: Educational Statesman," North Carolina Historical Review XXXIII (July, 1956) and Gilbert A. Tripp's "James Yadkin Joyner's Contribution to Education in North Carolina as State Superintendent of Public Instruction," (An Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, 1939).

Numerous primary sources, both published and manuscript, were available for biographical research on Eugene C. Brooks. Among the most valuable printed materials were the rather complete files of several newspapers, notably the Raleigh News and Observer, the Durham Herald, the Charlotte Observer, and the Greensboro Daily News. Other journals such as the Kinston Free Press and the Goldsboro Argus were particularly useful in tracing Brooks' early career in Kinston and Goldsboro. Unfortunately, there are few extant copies of the Monroe Journal and the Monroe Enquirer

for the years that Brooks was superintendent of the graded schools in Monroe. The articles and editorials in the North Carolina Journal of Education (North Carolina Education after 1908), the teachers' magazine edited by Brooks, furnished a continuous chronicle of his educational ideas and activities for seventeen years. His seven books, published between 1911 and 1924, provide a nucleus of research material for any discussion of his career as an author. Moreover, the printed proceedings of the numerous organizations of which he was a member frequently included information pointing up the trend of his interests from time to time.

The published reports of various state agencies and institutions also contain rich stores of data pertinent to a biography of Brooks. Of particular value were the publications of the State Department of Public Instruction between 1900 and 1923. The numerous bulletins issued while he was State Superintendent and especially his reports to the governor provide at least a cursory account of educational progress during his administration. Similarly, the salient features of his policies as president of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering are indicated in his printed reports to the college trustees, the college catalogues, and the campus newspaper. However, a more convenient account of his administration is available in two works by David Lockmiller, History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939 (Raleigh, 1939) and The

Consolidation of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1942). The published reports of the two county government commissions and the North Carolina Park Commission describe the activities of two agencies in which Brooks was especially influential.

The manuscript sources for a biographical study of Brooks are both extensive and rich in information. Among the most important of these are the three individual collections of Brooks papers. Those in the Duke University Library include significant fragments of his personal correspondence, numerous addresses and hand-written reports, and almost the complete minutes of the meetings of the county government commissions and the North Carolina Park Commission. Additional papers relating to these agencies and to Brooks' work as chairman of the Public School Equalizing Fund Commission constitute the Brooks Collection in the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh, North Carolina.[3] The Brooks papers in the possession of Mr. B. L. Smith in Greensboro, North Carolina contain addresses and notebooks as well as a hand-written copy of Brooks' incomplete autobiography and his unpublished "History of Educational Practice." Other manuscript sources especially useful for the period between 1871 and 1919 include: the E. J. Brooks Papers, the Trinity College Papers, and the William K. Boyd Papers in Duke University

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[3] Microfilm copies of these papers are in the Duke University Library.

Library; the William Preston Few Papers in the possession of the President of Duke University; and the James Yadkin Joyner Papers within the Southern Education Board Collection in the University of North Carolina Library.

There are two major manuscript sources for Brooks' career as State Superintendent of Public Instruction and as President of North Carolina State College. The collection in the State Department of Archives and History known as the Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction contains a vast quantity of Brooks' official and personal correspondence, but unfortunately the complicated technique of cataloguing these papers would baffle even an expert in library science. Also, the Charles L. Coon Papers in the University of North Carolina Library are particularly valuable for the beginning of Brooks' administration as State Superintendent, because Coon was then a leader of the opposition to his educational program. Quite obviously, the main sources of information concerning Brooks as President of North Carolina State College are the official archives of the college. These archives located in the D. H. Hill Library contain a large quantity of Brooks' correspondence, complete minutes of the meetings of the general faculty and Faculty Council during his administration, and numerous reports concerning the academic departments and campus activities. The rather voluminous minutes of the board of trustees and its executive committee in the office of the Business Manager of State College are especially revealing on financial questions and the trustees'

reactions to Brooks' proposals. Additional research material for Brooks' career between 1919 and 1924 is available in the collection called the Governors' Papers in the State Department of Archives and History. Unfortunately, one of the most important portions of this collection, the papers of Governor O. Max Gardner, are in an unbelievably chaotic state.

In addition to published and manuscript materials, personal interviews and correspondence with several individuals intimately acquainted with Brooks have yielded extremely valuable information. The Brooks family, particularly Mrs. E. C. Brooks and E. C. Brooks, Jr., generously supplied data about Brooks' personal characteristics and affairs. Three of his former students, B. L. Smith, J. F. Carr, Jr., and A. S. Brower related interesting descriptions of their classes under him which shed light on his teaching methods and classroom techniques. Several of Brooks' former associates including Clarence Poe, William T. Laprade, John G. Dawson, Verne Rhoades, Carl Taylor, Harry Nettles, Frank P. Graham, and Ira O. Schaub furnished revealing accounts of their relations with Brooks in a variety of capacities. These men were frank and candid in expressing their views, and only a very few of them requested that their names be withheld in connection with a discussion of certain controversial questions.

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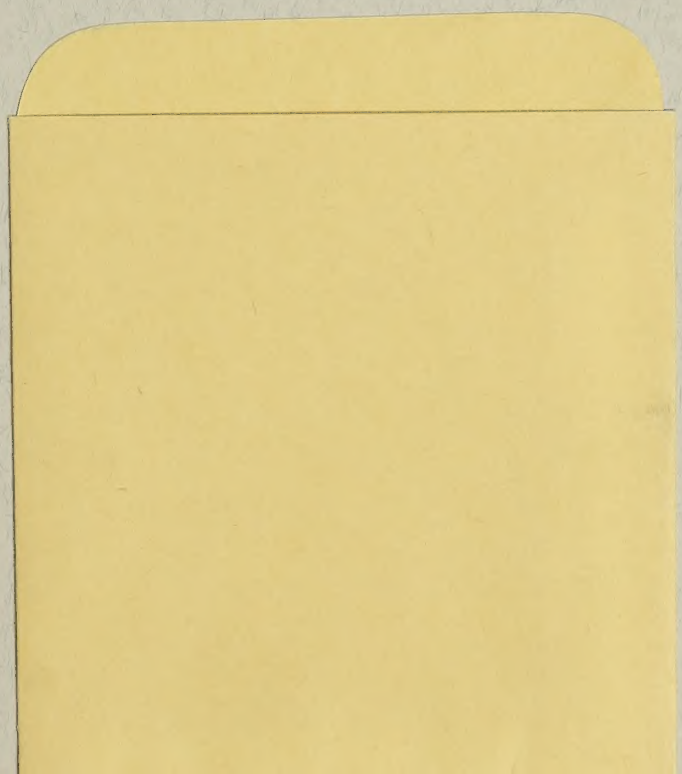

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